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NP12 Winnebago NP12

[For information on the war-bundle ceremonies of the various Winnebago clans, see category 116, pp. 427-550.]

There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, must Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology. [72] 825 [64]

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglio." Good descriptions of both types have been given. [72]

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems. [614] [615]

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted." The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglio that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglio" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglio" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans. [776] [614] [614]

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him in extenso:

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 24 feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

* "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the *Winnebago Archeologist*, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol. 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

* *Winnebago Archeologist*, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 8.

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seen to be practically unanimous in explaining them as either the base of lodges or as defenses (figs. 9, 10, 11).

EFFIGY MOUNDS

Effigy mounds (figs. 4, 5, 11-18) are discussed at some length in the following pages. The following types are found: The bird, the bear, the panther or water-spirit, the deer (uncommon), the wolf (uncommon), the turtle, and the so-called man. The commonest by far are the bird, bear, and water-spirit, and this would seem to corroborate the statements of living Winnebago that these mounds represent the clan effigies, for these three clans were by far the most important and numerous in the tribe. Certain of the clans are apparently not represented, particularly the elk, the buffalo, the snake, and the fish, while but isolated examples of two fairly important clans, the wolf and the deer, are found. If the so-called turtle mounds (fig. 16) were really intended to represent that animal, we would have the only instance of a large number of mounds that can not possibly be connected with the Winnebago clans, for the tribe never had a Turtle clan. However, these mounds may not really have been intended to represent turtles. On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the effigy mounds represented only clan animals. It is possible that some were erected for religious purposes.

Owing to the fact that so many effigy mounds have been destroyed in the last two or three centuries, it is quite impossible to be certain of the distribution of specific types. Even those still in existence have not all been carefully noted and described. Until this is done, no even approximately definitive conclusions can be drawn as to the reasons for the prevalence of certain types in one area and others in other areas. To give some idea of their distribution, however, we will describe briefly their distribution in those sections of Wisconsin that have been fairly thoroughly studied:

Lake Mendota.—Two types of bird, bear, water-spirit, and the very rare effigy of a frog.

Lake Koshkonong.—Two types of bird, water-spirit, frog? mink? and an unknown mammal.

Fond du Lac.—Water-spirit, one type of bird, turtle.

Lake Waubesa.—Water-spirit, three types of bird, bear, turtle, and lynx.

Turtle Creek, Rock County.—Water-spirit, turtle.

Winnebago County.—Water-spirit, bear, bird.

Lake Wingra.—Water-spirit, turtle, three types of bird, and bear.

Mantiwoc County.—Bird, water-spirit, turtle.

Sauk County.—One type of bird, bear, mink, water-spirit.

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or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared space is known as the *hiruri's* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

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[721]

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Description of a buffalo hunt Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Honewas* (Missouri?), *Wasatwen*, *Iowa*, and *Wadychadgipen*, the *Ota*. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrow. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would come, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

[721]

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A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):

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Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the middle in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

[203]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] in which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

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[762]

Pigeon hunt.—The pigeons are "chief" birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[825]

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¹As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly credible witness.

²They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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[721] Regulation of the tribal hunt.—It can not be said that there were many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

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484 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to include here a description* of these powers, although this really belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

FISHING AND AGRICULTURE

226 Fishing.—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocu**) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*maⁿnuzhizisai*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

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226 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

names]

MATERIAL CULTURE

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Names of the principal trees, etc.

tuksok'a'wa, reed-wood.
 xa'lije, wren.
 wa' e'ur, cedar (red cedar).
 tuks'a'na, ironwood.
 witei, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
 du, round reed used for mats.
 hi's'e', basswood.
 wazi, pine in general.
 wazi pama, white cedar.
 wa'ye', poplar.
 tra' tra'wa, birch.
 tragu, walnut.

pa' dja'gu, hickory.
 trau'ko, butternut.
 na' na'gik', maple.
 ruyi, willow.
 rak, ash.
 trage'gu, oak.
 magh'a'rah, elm.
 hukaigu, hazel.
 na' p'a'gu, cherry.
 na' ho'eg', box-elder.
 heyu', cottonwood.

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Names of the principal vegetables and fruits

teera'hara, a water root.
 woken'gera, root called "awl" root.
 hu'k'hoi'dja, pea vine.
 dora, a sort of artichoke.
 pa'xzi, root found in lowlands.
 na'p'ak, chokeberries.
 k'a'ie, plum.
 ke'e, crabapple.
 trau'wa', fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.
 ha'z'cutra, raspberry.
 ha'da'mankwa, blackberry.
 ha'din'ak', blueberries.

haedjek', strawberry.
 hap'u'nap'unuxa, gooseberry.
 hotcoga', cranberry.
 k'a'ie hi'cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
 ke'e carote, apple (long and round apple).
 wak'a'wecawa, wild currant (snake's nose).
 doka'wahi, prairie turnip.
 hu'n'ak, bean.
 hu'nagk' na'di, climbing bean.
 hu'n'ak' mink, nonclimbing bean.
 ma'hi'ie, milkweed.

Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten

wagkroq, dogfish.
 djadij'a'k', mink.
 docu'na'k, otter.
 ho wak'a', eel (holy fish).
 k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
 teaxe'p, eagle.

wamel.
 marten.
 no entrails (u'djwoju).
 gopher.
 bease.

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Agriculture.—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

[602
607] 553 Naming feast.—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

[554] [597] When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 Relationship terms.—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:²

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

- Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
- Hi'trok'e, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
- K'u'niŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
- Hiik'arok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
- Dja'dji, father (direct address).

² Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; w., sister.

CHAPTER V

BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, b).

[177] [615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

● [614] [184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial.
2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved.
3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land.
4. Rites at the grave.
5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave.
6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

[115] [647] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: 'When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

¹ This description is a generalized one.

765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will
775 now boil some food for you."

Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE
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Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (Aitakadro) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(FIRST VERSION)

764 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan
184 dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak
614 to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with
him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the
[615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry)
belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and
bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows:

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you felt short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girl. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unceremonious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake.

Address to the spirit.—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relative asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

¹ Spirit here is *wamp'isi*, spirit, deity, not *wiy'dah*, ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
715 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served
is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the
person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me
for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunder-
birds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about
the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of
being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were
a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I
ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He
told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken
his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped
and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could
not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night
he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and
utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of
the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they
lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the *Four Nights' Wake*).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only
that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told.
They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell
of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which
had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to
the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All
those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all
those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the
deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were com-
manded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had cap-
tured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the
fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE BEAR CLAN*

764 Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In
184 accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to
614 be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan.
[763] To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing
the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally,
conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

* This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lamer and Radin, *Amer-Indian*, N. S. vol. 12, no. 2, 1911.

One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 614 ●

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land; and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living. [539]

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clan-men walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and drink. [539]

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

764 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the
 184 deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same
 614 time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appre-
 539 ciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bring-
 ing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also
 brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being
 prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present. I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so): — namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behoves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother: and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *nemanzisizini*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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stood firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day-to-day, and inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

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Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to land and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all.

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He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night.

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to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND *

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Ho! Ho! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fire might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been produced for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a horn-shaped instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives begged for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

*Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the settlements. On your way stands the lodge of Heccege'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'ja' broken by open prairie here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the lodge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will not sweet and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ko!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences.

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W. was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the morra-in game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the masonry of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE BUFFALO CLAN

764 Told by a member of the clan." If a Buffalo clan man dies some
184 members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

539 To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

He'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth; and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one chooses the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE FOUR NIGHTS' WAKE

539 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a
765 war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the repetition.

721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose.

• [614] There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are
[615] to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all members of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who

[555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*wigewag*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also
726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:
[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whosoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*highway*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the Hak'ixre Dance for four nights.

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[115] Description of a war party.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

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The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

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After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

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A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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THE COUNCIL LODGE

The clan in the council lodge.—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is in the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance.

Councils. No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 20-32):

Description of order of entering the council lodge.—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements.

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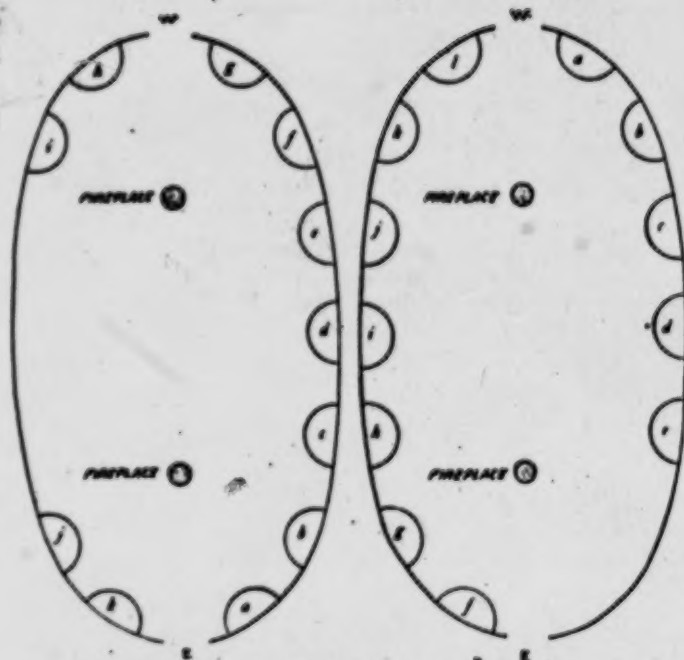


FIG. 29.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbolt clan: a, Warrior clan; b, Water-spout clan; c, Deer clan; d, Elk clan; e, Plover clan; f, Wolf clan; g, Bear clan; h, Eagle clan; i, Snake clan; j, Loon clan; k, Thunderbolt clan. (The order of importance is from b-e.)

FIG. 30.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Bear clan: a, Thunderbolt clan; b, Bear clan; c, Wolf clan; d, Plover clan; e, Eagle clan; f, Snake clan; g, Fish clan; h, Elk clan; i, Snake clan; j, Deer clan; k, Water-spout clan; l, Warrior clan.

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WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

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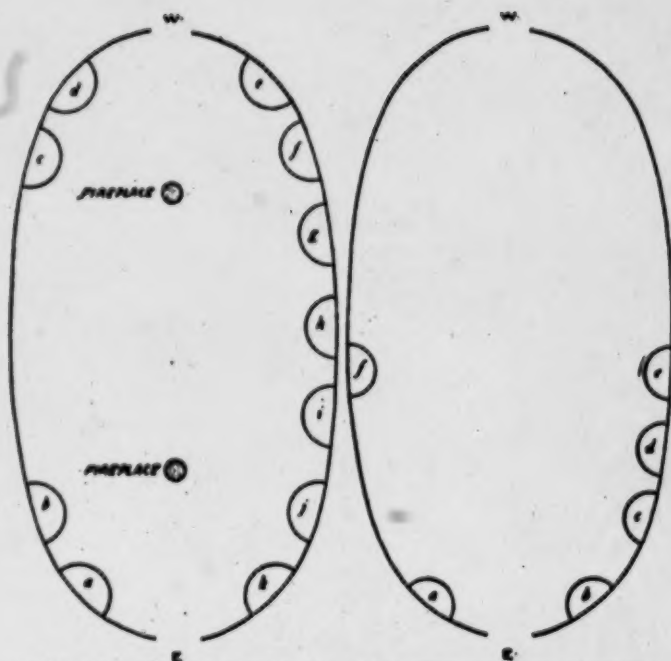


FIG. 11.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: a, Thunderbird clan; f, Eagle clan; j, Buffalo clan; b, Snake clan; g, Bear clan; i, Wolf clan; c, Porcupine clan; d, Elk clan; e, Deer clan; h, Water-spirit clan; e, Warrior clan.

FIG. 12.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clan: a, Thunderbird clan; b, Snake clan; c, Buffalo clan; d, Water-spirit clan; e, Bear clan; f, Wolf clan.

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PART II

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ietacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ietunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwape, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ietacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
except that of regulating marriage. The various political and cere-
monial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing
them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions
on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the
larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the
present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have be-
come identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out
here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that
they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an
historically related culture, due to specific historical development
within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons
for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the
historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or
"gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative
point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the
subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with
those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally
with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in
addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and
Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha
have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of
animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to
say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names
have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive
taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some
reason for believing that these animal appellations have been re-
interpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations;
that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain
animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the
taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are
strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the
Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is
found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians,
with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom
they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social
development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the
animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type
became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe.
Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means
isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names
indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time. 171
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Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *inuwagtha*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gtha* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikaciga*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pada*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hakik'a'radjra*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. [52] It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangaenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

171 of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt
 174 for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of
 114 the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

114 Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the
 614 Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Ojage,
 the Triju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divi-
 sions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that
 are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On
 the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names
 of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those
 divisions, and the same is true for the Triju division of the Ponca.
 If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any
 association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific
 clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed
 in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the
 larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions
 are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the
 present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite func-
 tions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social
 organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *awyk*
 or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the
 latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indi-
 cations of a possible historical development whose characteristics
 seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an impor-
 tant clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down,
 but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older
 men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty
 was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however,
 does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichoto-
 mous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once
 occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the
 tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful.
 The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive
 territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long
 after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a
 hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time
 was so long that those living at one end did not know what was
 transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify
 its use as an historical document.

114 621 The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable impor-
 tance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organi-
 zation, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or
 village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uh-atcira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nira'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *kye x'dgominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hakik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure; whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

THE TWOFOLD GROUPING

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waggeregi Aerera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi Aerera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waggeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

[796] The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

manegi divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION

The only function that the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waggeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waggeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waggeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waggeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waggeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waggeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

- 616 ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village;
 614 second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third,
 as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the
 basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

616 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social
 614 organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves
 621 by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the
waggeregi clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the
 south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear
 or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement
 has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many
 of the older people. To what extent every village was organized
 on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was



FIG. 33. — Plan of village according to Thunderbird, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

- [115] In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This
 [114] fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these
 [582] two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwera. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,



FIG. 24. Plan of village according to John Ray, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Thunderbird.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the waggeryi are on the south, and the two for the mazgi on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*huk wog*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *huk wog* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the waggeryi division.

616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waggersgi* are always
pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[773] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the
waggersgi and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a
game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waggersgi*
won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected
from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial
lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[771] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the
former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned
political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no
such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves
merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it
614 may be well to point out the fact that the *waggersgi* people are some-
times spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanigk kōtik'arodjra*), and that the
four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their
clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans
representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of
divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is,
however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan op-
posed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for his-
torically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but
one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical
equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the dis-
parity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of
the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

CLAN ORGANIZATION

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names:

A. *Waggersgi kerru* (those who are above):¹

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wanayiw uakrit*, war-people.
3. *kazcap*, eagle.
4. *rutcpa*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi kerru* (those who are on earth):

5. *Aunk*, bear.
6. *wuktuak'*, wolf.
7. *walterzi*, water spirit.
8. *teo*, deer.
9. *kw'wa'*, elk.

¹ AS the clans of the upper phratry are also called *akwauwa*, "Those-with-eyes." This name is found in connection.

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10. *ter*, buffalo.
11. *As*, fish.
12. *wak'a**, snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan⁶ 614 and Dorsey.⁷ Morgan gives the following clans: 114

Wolf.	Eagle.	Snake.
Bear.	Elk.	Thunder.
Buffalo.	Deer.	

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

Wolf.	Bird.	Buffalo.
Bear.	a. Eagle.	Deer.
Elk.	b. Pigeon.	Water-monster.
Snake.	c. Hawk.	
	d. Thunderbird.	

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.⁸ His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

- I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
- II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
- III. The land or quadruped family.
- IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior 614 clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the 115 good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly 177 reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them.

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wonisk* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

⁶ Andrew Bailey, p. 127.

⁷ Bureau of Ethnology, *Pittsburgh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 545-561.

⁸ Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's *Notes of Winnebago clan names* (B. A. E.).

614 to it. There is no doubt but that in older times the Wolf clan played a far greater part in the affairs of the tribe than it does to-day, but that it ever was the principal clan of the tribe is out of the question.

614 With regard to Dorsey's postulation of a Bird (*wonigk*) clan, all
114 that can be said is that the author obtained nothing confirmatory of it. It is just possible that Dorsey, who apparently did not know of the existence of the two phratries, misinterpreted a popular grouping of the four clans of the upper phratry, as representing a fundamental division. Historically it may, indeed, be true that the four clans of the upper phratry represent the subdivision of one clan.

The archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans can not be translated with any degree of certainty any longer. It is barely possible that *degoni* means "lake band" and *teonank* means "blue back." Whether these are simply a second set of names, or whether they represent an historically older set, it is impossible to say to-day. The probabilities are that they are terms of respect.

The absence of the Warrior clan in Dorsey's list and the presence of a Hawk clan is rather interesting, for it shows that only 25 years ago the bird name for this clan was still in use. The Warrior and Hawk clans are identical, the latter being, however, the appellation that is preferred to-day.

In addition to the names given above, some of the clans have names indicative of respect, such as *hunge* for the Water-spirit, *haga* for the male members of the Bear clan, and *wawowias* for the female members. It is also possible that the names *degoni* and *teonank*, mentioned by Dorsey for the Wolf and Bear clans, were terms of respect.

RECKONING OF DESCENT

614 Descent is patrilineal and a man's name generally belongs to his father's clan. Formerly there never was an exception to the rule that the name must belong to the father's clan, but of recent years [582] the Winnebago have become very lax in this particular. The irregularities in the giving of names were due to two causes—first, the intermarriage of Winnebago women with white men or with Indians of other tribes where the clan organization was either unknown or where descent was matrilineal, and, secondly, to the fact that the wife's parents were often in a better position to pay for the naming feast than the parents of the father. When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan. This, however, lasts for only one generation. As a result the male children of such a marriage perpetuate the clan of the mother, although they transmit it thereafter in the male line.

Another irregularity that has grown up within recent times is the occasional transmission of the clan war-bundle in the female line. In olden times it could only be transmitted in the male line, so as to prevent its passing out of the clan. It was, however, not always passed to the eldest son, but to that one who, by his actions and the interest he manifested in learning the legends and songs pertaining to the ceremony, showed himself capable of properly providing for the bundle. Now it happened occasionally that a man either possessed no son or that his son did not show sufficient interest in all that pertained to the bundle. In such a case the father had the alternative of giving it to some near relative in the male line, and if there were none of either giving it to some distant relative in the male line or the son of his sister or daughter. This, of course, happened very rarely, and in all probability the female line would eventually have to return it to the clan to which it originally belonged. 614 778 428

We have described these two instances of transmission in the female line in some detail in order to show how simply they can be explained without the intervention of any theory that the Winnebago reckoned descent in the female line originally. Such a claim has been made by Morgan and reiterated by Frazer. It seems to be based on the fact that Carver found the daughter of a Winnebago chief, known to the whites as Glory-of-the-Morning, and her children occupying an exceptional position among the tribe, or at least among the division of the Winnebago living at the upper end of Lake Winnebago, Wis. Her position and that of her children, one of whom has become well known in Winnebago legends, *Toop'ogaga*, was, however, due to the fact that she married a Frenchman named Decora. She was not the chieftainess of the tribe nor were any of her children, strictly speaking, chiefs of the tribe. In any case her position had nothing to do with female descent and at best but illustrates what we have said before about the clan to which children of such a union belong. 611 114

INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Before turning to the specific study of each clan a few words must be said about the individual names. From a purely descriptive point of view the names can be arranged in nine classes: 614

- I. Color.
- II. Physiological characteristics.
- III. Social functions.
- IV. Animal and plant forms.
- V. Animal characteristics.
- VI. Natural phenomena.
- VII. Quality.
- VIII. Episodes of a legendary character.
- IX. Personal achievement.

614 According to the majority of our informants only one of these classifications seems to be generally present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunder-bird alit on a tree the name *He-who- alights-on-a-tree* is given; because a wave swept over the shore as the wolf arrived at Green Bay the name *Wave* is given, etc. However, the most representative names of this type are *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of the names, although many of them can doubtless be interpreted as referring to incidents that occurred during the various origins of the clan, clearly belong to the first seven divisions mentioned above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII.

As an example of the Winnebago viewpoint let me give the following:

614 Four men [the clan eponymous ancestors] Earth-Maker sent here from above; and
773 when they came, all their various characteristics were used for making proper names. Thus at the present day, the characteristics of the thunder-birds, all of their actions, are used as proper names. (At the beginning), four men came from above. And from that fact there is a name, *He-who-comes-from-Above*. . . From above, four men Earth-Maker sent down. And since they came like spirits, there is a name, *Spirit-Men*. . . And as there was a drizzling fog when the four men came from above, so there are names, *Walking-in-Mist*, *Comes-in-Mist*, and a woman they would call, *Drizzling-Rain-Women*. It is said that when they first came to Devil's, they alit upon some bushes, and bent them down; and from this fact there is a name, *He-who-bends-the-Bushes*. On the limb of an oak-tree that stood there, they alit; and they bent it down as they alit on its branches. From this there is a name, *He-who-bends-the-Bushes-down*. And since they alit on the tree, there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-a-Tree*; . . . and from the tree itself there is the name, *Oak-Women*. . . And because they stepped from the oak-tree to the ground, . . . there is a name, *He-who-alights-on-the-Ground*. . . And since they came with the thunder-birds, there is a name, *Thunder-bird* . . . and *White-Thunder-bird* . . . and *Black-Thunder-bird* . . . And since the thunder-birds thunder, there is a name, *He-who-thunders*. . . And since they make the noise *trib-trib*, people are called *He-who-makes-Trib-trib*. . . When the thunder-birds walk, rain accompanies them; and from this fact we have a name, *He-who-walks-with-Rain*. . . And since the thunder-birds come walking, we have a name, *Walking-Thunder*; and since the thunder-birds walk with a mighty noise when they start out, there is a name, *He-who-comes-walking-with-a-Mighty-Thunder*. . . and since the earth shakes when they commence walking, there is a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth-with-force*. . . And since there is always wind and hail when the thunder-birds come, we have a name, *He-who-comes-with-Wind-and-Hail*. Now, since one of the thunder-birds came first, there is a name, *He-who-walks-First*; and since one of them was the leader, therefore, there is the name *Thunder-bird-Leader*. . . Now since the thunder-birds flash (their eyes) in every direction, so we have the name *Flashes-in-every-Direction*. . . Now, we don't see the thunder-birds, but we see their flashes only; and thus there is a female name, *Only-a-flash-of-Lightning-Women*; and since the thunder-birds (flash) streaks of lightning, there is a name, *Streak-of-Lightning*; and since cloudiness is caused by the thunder-birds

* "Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by F. Radin, *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 24, no. 97, pp. 322-323.

walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings*. . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (see heard); he all this they have a name; they call him *Woradjskape*.

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.*

ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

* For fuller discussion of F. Radin, *The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians*, Memoirs Bulletin 18, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1914.

614 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by
825 a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may
776 thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

[423] In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the con-
825 sideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the
776 clan animal, a subject that has played as prominent a part in dis-
[124] cussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de-
774 termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct
questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in
the origin myths.

the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 600
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The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [773]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

- 614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.
- 614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

- 614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
- [582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as in

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shown by the very word for clan (*Aotik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*Aitak'oro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.

or:

(F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2.

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.

(F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3.

(M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2.

(F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4.

(M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3.

(M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5.

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

614 political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this
 182 socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the
 Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions
 of the public erier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others
 614 insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible
 203 for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is
 182 extremely probable that the office of public erier was originally con-
 554 nected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated
 with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship
 existing between this clan and the chief clan. It must, of course,
 be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the
 requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number
 of warriors potentially public eriers. Its association with mem-
 bership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction
 of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of
 another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of mem-
 bership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in
 the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the
 development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally
 applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

614 Political functions may, however, become connected with a group
 182 unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in
 developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as
 intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the
 Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions con-
 nected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association.
 In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It
 will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious
 functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police
 and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions
 of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the
 public erier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists.
 Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves
 readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the
 necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of associa-
 tion, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in
 each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the
 details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the
 chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is
 [62] selected from it, has important functions connected with the preser-
 vation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war;
 the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within
 the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those
 relating to the office of public erier and intermediary between the

chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed. [17]

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*kitrak'oro*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a three-fold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggeggi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon. 614

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter. 476 [837]

614 The relation of *kiteak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous
572 to that which exists between two individuals who are *kiteak'oro*
to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hiteyege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hiteyege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *kiteak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hiteyege* relation, the individual *kiteak'oro* and the clan *kiteak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *kiteak'oro* and the clan *kiteak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *kiteak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *kiteak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *kiteak'oro* bears to the individual *kiteak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession cer-
778 tain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonies known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*aghe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now.

THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namgte*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namazinirini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namazinirini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

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533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

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As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

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575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, ⁶¹⁴
no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. ⁵⁷⁵
There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in ⁷⁷⁶
many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies,
and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds
of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan
as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen-⁶¹⁴
erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of ⁷⁷⁶
each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was tradi-
tionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend"
clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was
not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits
to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the
participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of
animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle ⁷⁸²
were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings ⁷⁷⁶
were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two
separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other
to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these cere-
monial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the cere-
monial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether
we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent
origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been
perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the
acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the
traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the
fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies
of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must ⁷⁷¹
first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to
suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the
content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious
societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organi-
zation had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely estab-
lished, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is his-
torically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago cere-
mony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences
radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial
complex, both in type of organization and in content. The differ-
ence between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the
fact that although the five principal participants must have specific
blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan.
To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

614 from some other clan spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
796 of the latter it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honor. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

INTRODUCTION

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem. [74]

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless. 614 773

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

614 count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting
773 its age.
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There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths.

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peace-maker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.

If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell

* He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbirds and the Warrior clans. This last he insisted was identical with the Thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

622 the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all
614 time.

[203] The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief
624 early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the
623 village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

[682] The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get
into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intervene. If in a quarrel a person
should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit him-
self to be tied up - i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If
the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks
in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the
murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of
the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if
any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then
the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

622 Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer
614 is as follows:

622 When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own
chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put feathers in his back, to
which they tie cords. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's rela-
tives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should
the relatives not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face.
Then he returns.

614 The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-
778 headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a
miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only
[411] other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often
speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there
seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably
more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the com-
mon possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be
alienated from the clan.³ For all practical purposes, however, they
are the private property of certain individuals or families.

614 Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan.
372 As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a
firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never
permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone
should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would
be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable
thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the
definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

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³ This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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An old Winne-

bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 48.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi'ankiritepa; ka-kaakitepa*.

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

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CLAN MYTHS AND NAMES

OSHEE MYTH (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)¹

539 In the beginning, Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came
 614 to consciousness, and there was nothing else anywhere.* He began
 776 to think of what he should do, and finally he began to cry and tears
 began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while
 he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright
 objects were hidden tears that had flowed below and formed the
 present waters. When the tears flowed below they became the seas
 as they are now. Earthmaker began to think again. He thought,
 "It is thus, if I wish anything; it will become as I wish, just as my
 tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light
 and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed;
 the things that I wished for have come into existence as I desired."
 Then he again thought and wished for the earth, and this earth
 came into existence. Earthmaker looked on the earth and he liked
 it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the sea.
 Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good, but they
 did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow,
 but still the earth was not yet quiet. Then he made the rocks and
 stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly
 quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the
 four winds. On the four corners of the earth he placed them as
 great and powerful people, to act as island weights. Yet the earth
 was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them
 down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with
 their heads eastward. They were snakes. Then the earth became
 very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth and he saw that
 it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into
 existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said,
 "As things are just as I wish them, I shall make one being in my
 own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like
 himself. Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not
 answer. He looked upon it and saw that it had no mind or thought.
 So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not
 answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue.
 Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did
 not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no
 soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and it very nearly
 said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earth-
 maker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.

¹ Told in connection with the origin of the Thunderbird water.² This myth is reported from Radin, Winnebago tales, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XIV, no. 282, 283. It has apparently been somewhat influenced by the Bible.

As the newly created being was in his own likeness, Earthmaker ⁵³⁹ felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He ⁶¹⁴ made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These ⁷⁷⁶ first four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. And he thought, "None will I make to live upon the earth of those I have created." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—Kunuga, Heganaga, Hagaga, and Nanyiga. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when of your own free will you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco plant that he had given them. He said, also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it, by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you that you may use it in life. When you offer anything it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the center of your dwellings and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live upon.

So the four Thunder spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Kunuga, said, while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunders*, if it be a boy." On they came down toward the earth. When they got near the earth it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl it shall be called *Dark*." They came to a place called Within Lake* at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down-woman*." Then they alighted on the earth, but the Thunder spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called *He-who-weights-on-the-earth*." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals that they

* This lake is probably Green Bay itself.

539 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are
 614 we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows
 776 that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird - swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, Wasp I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some. "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, ⁵⁹⁷ and he did not breathe and he became cold. "What is the matter ⁶¹⁴ with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they ⁷⁷⁶ waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was; but he did not know anything about it and told him to ask his third brother; but this one did not know either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one, but he did not know either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are in mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow fell knee-deep the three brothers filled their pipe and went toward the place of the coming of daylight—the east. There they came to the first being that Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island-wright*, as he was called. They came to him weeping and went into his tent, turning the stem of the pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Kunuga has fallen and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you."

So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them; "but," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and behold there sat the three to whom they had gone before. Here they asked the last one for help, and not only he but the other three also answered them: "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with you no more in this world, and as long as this world lasts so will it be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end sometime. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you, and when this world is ended your brother shall take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly. Thus it is. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder people thanked the four spirits and left the tent. When they got home they took their brother's body,

- 534 dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they
 614 told him where he was to go and buried him with his head toward
 776 the west and with his war club. They placed the branch of a tree at
 his grave, and painted a little stick red and tied it to the tree, so
 that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit abode.
 If any object or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must
 strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives
 he had left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain
 long life. He must have his pipe and food along with him on his
 journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a
 blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves
 behind him (i. e., the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are
 still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, all these
 he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had or, in
 fact, anything that he could possibly have had, he is asked to give to
 these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning four brothers started from above and came toward
 this world. They came to a country called (ni juk, cliff place?), and
 there they alighted on a tree. From there they started around the
 world, going from left to right.* The first time they went around
 they went through space, but the second time they went along this
 earth, at a place called *derok* (Within Lake). There they built
 lodges for themselves. While doing this the oldest suddenly became
 quiet, as if stricken. Finally, he asked the second brother what he
 should do, and the second brother said to him, "You are the oldest
 and ought to know what to do. How can I, who am younger, know
 anything? Perhaps the third-born brother might know." So he
 asked the third-born, but he said, "You are the older and ought to
 know. How can I, being the younger, know? Perhaps the youngest
 brother will know." So they asked that one and he said, "Yes, I
 know something." The thing about which they did not know any-
 thing was the making of the fire. The younger one, saying he knew
 something, took a piece of an oak tree and began twisting it until it
 began to smoke, and then the fire started. Then he placed it on the
 ground. After the fire began to blaze and seemed well started they
 finished building their lodge. From that time on whenever they saw
 anything new the brothers would give it a name. Animals and all
 the things that exist were thus named. And then they were to pre-
 pare a meal, and the second brother reached out his hand and pro-
 duced the food that they wanted (i. e., he seemingly reached out from
 where he was seated and brought in deer's meat, etc.). Not having

* The conventional manner of passing around a lodge. Supposed to be comparable to the path of the sun.

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any cooking utensils they broiled their meat on sharp sticks. Then the oldest one began making utensils for cooking. He took clay and slippery elm bark, mixed them together, and made a pot out of it, which was then heated over a fire. 339
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Within Lake was their main stopping place during their wanderings. Now the members of the other clans began gathering at this place and all the other clans got to this place and obtained their fire from the Thunderers. From that time on they also began intermarrying. The rule was that the upper clansmen married the women of the lower clans and vice versa. The oldest one of the brothers made friends with the Water-spirit clan and the second brother made friends with the Bear clan. The reason why the upper clans and the lower clans intermarried was to prevent their marrying their own relatives. The second brother is the ancestor of the War clan people.

The Thunderers do not say that they were descended from the Thunderbirds, but they claim that in wandering about there was always a drizzling rain and fog which they caused and on account of the similarity of this to the actions of the Thunderbirds they called themselves the Thunderers.¹

From the gathering at Green Bay the clan names originated. The names were taken from incidents of their journey to this place. The older brother kept on naming everything: the different parts of our body; the different parts of animals, etc. When he finished, he suddenly stopped breathing and died. His death occurred at dawn. The brothers did not know that he had died. For a long time they waited for him to come to life again, but he never came to life again. Thus death originated. His body died, but his spirit traveled west toward the setting of the sun, making a road for all who were to come after him. He was the chief of the village of the spirits.

THIRD VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN—FRAGMENTARY)²

"Well, my younger brother, what shall we speak of! Let us speak of the Winnebagoes. You are right. Of them we will speak. What shall we eat? If we see an animal let us eat him. I will go and look. See I have brought a deer. We will eat him." So they built a fire and broiled that deer. They cooked it and then ate it. Then they heard something. They listened and two persons came into the tent. They took a seat opposite. "Ha, ha, you that sit opposite, what relation will you be to me?" "What relation should I be to you?" "You shall be my chief." "Listen, some are saying

¹ The word Thunderers is the same as Thunderbirds. One and the same being in mind.

² This account seems to begin after the Thunderbirds have reached Green Bay and are sitting in the lodge waiting for the other clans to arrive.

539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (these
 614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
 776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit
 opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You
 Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?"
 "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good.
 Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunder-
 birds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend,
 we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so
 will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke,
 "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come.
 We will call them the Buffalo clan."

THE WARRIOR CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems
 to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the
 number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little
 doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to
 represent this clan.

[552] Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little
 266] to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was custom-
 ary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward
 cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there
 is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
 178 wonayira *da'skrak* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk,
 and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present
 name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confi-
 dent that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time.
 The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring
 to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the
 soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the func-
 tions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the
 case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been
 complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever
 localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but
 a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunder-
 bird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers
 was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen,
 obtained the same information.

[361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
 600 corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

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In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were
confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant the Warrior and Bear clans could give each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The first two clan songs are given on page 220. The clan facial decoration, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows: A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks (pl. 40).

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows:

The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must first be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this.

There may have been a special feast associated with the Warrior clan, but the author never heard of it. The clan possessed a number of war bundles.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

In the beginning, Earthmaker made four men. Then he sent them to the earth. Within Lake, there, they landed and they alit on the branch of a tree. There were four branches and each one alit on one branch. And then on the earth they jumped and started walking toward the east. There they erected a camping place. There they started the fire. It was the principal fire. Then they started to look for food, but they were unable to find any. So the second brother was sent, but he was not able to get any animal, but he brought a man. Because he brought it, for that reason, the first male child we have shall be called *He-eko-ota-humana*. Then the second one, him whom they called the warrior, was sent. Thus it

614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke, "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it."

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earth-maker ordained everything, and as he ordered so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONGS

First song.

The blue flame they raised to start.
The blue flame they raised to start.
The blue flame they raised to start.
The blue flame they raised to start.

Second song

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The
Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an
[778 Eagle feast is mentioned.
796]

Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe.

CLAN NAMES

WANIN' NIS'IN'A'NAIGERA (THE BIRD CLAN)¹

Ahugdjin-wings	Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahucip'awwings	Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahumanip'aga	He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahiga	Sharp wing (said of a thundercloud).
Ahucuwings	Transparently clear wings. ²
Ahucuwings	He who raises his wings (i. e., the wings of a cloud).
Ahucuk's	Strikes his wings. ³
Ahucuwings	Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahucuwings	White wing.
Ahucuwings	Shorn wing.
Ahucuwings	Shorn wing.
Ahucuwings	He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
Ahucuwings	He who kindles the (fire?). ⁴
Ahucuwings	Who who has been seen.
Ahucuwings	Difficult to be seen.
Ha'p' hik'inshiga	He who misses the day.
Ha'p'ak' gawings	Owl returning hither.
Ha'p'ak's	New day.
Hicija Kowojaga	Hawk face.
Hicuwings	Eagle woman.
Hicuwings	Black eagle.
Hicuwings	Shorn hawk.
Hicuwings	Shorn tail.
Hicuwings	Forked-tailed hawk.
Hicuwings	Returning light.
Hicuwings	Walks in the light.
Hicuwings	Light that comes hither regularly.
Hicuwings	Light flashes suddenly.

¹ The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Duray, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the English renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Duray obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same transcriptions. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Two names in this list are the combinations of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any transcriptions he appended Foster's initials.

² Duray has "thin" wings, adding "as is a transparent fiery cloud." However, the word *piwa*, which is the full form for *piwa*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a bowl. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be some reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

³ Duray's rendering "still wings" is most certainly incorrect.

⁴ Foster translates "only" and Duray "smoke," but *piwa* means "kindle a fire, startle to cause the blue flames that appear just as the flames start up."

614 551	Hehahshiga.....	He who makes a noise by dragging something.
	Hopiga.....	Good voice.
	Houtrova.....	He who has eaten fish
	Houtrova-wings.....	Audible voice.
	Houtrova-wings.....	Fishes in several places.
	Hosh' nash'awahiga.....	Chief whom they are afraid of
	Idjanikwahiga.....	He who makes them shrink with fright.
	Jibink'a.....	Short person (common to all clans).
	K'ayihitush'a.....	Changing crow.
	K'ayijik'am.....	Yellowish crow.
	K'ayinu'p'aga.....	Two crows.
	Ki'ahungahiga.....	Fighting chief.
	Ma'edjahiga-wings.....	Makes an effort in moving.
	Ma'cu'p'i-wings.....	Beautiful quill feather.
	Ma'cu'waga.....	Black quill feather.
	Ma'cu'waga-wings.....	White quill feather.
	Ma'cu'waga-wings.....	Green quill feather.
	Ma'hinu'p'aga.....	Two knives.
	Manihindiga.....	Strong walker.
	Ma'manik'a.....	Walking storm.
	Ma'h'ikuniga.....	He who shakes the earth by striking.
	Ma'ma'teo K'uruga.....	He who has taken his war-club.
	Ma'ma'teo nash'ik'awahiga.....	He of whose war-club they are afraid.
	Ma'ma'teo.....	He who raises a dust on the earth.
	Ma'nash'ikuniga.....	He who makes the earth shake by walking.
	Ma'zah'iga.....	He who dries the ground.
	Ma'wahiga.....	Yellow arrow point.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who walks on the wind.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Breaks a bow with his feet.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Red cloud.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Overlapping clouds.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who stands beyond the sky.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Sky reached standing.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Cloud-point.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Beautiful cloud.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Master of the clouds.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Black cloud.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Four clouds.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Sacred cloud.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who sits having come hither to the earth.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Coming back near the ground.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who scares some one.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who breaks a tree-top by hitting it.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who cuts a tree-top.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Swallow.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who strikes a tree.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Withered tree (blasted by lightning).
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who comes singing.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He whose they fear to see.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Rain man.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Walking rain.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Gray rain.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	He who makes the water shine.
	Ma'wahigahiga.....	Drizzling woman.

NAME

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPIRITUAL CLANS

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Notre'paga	Lightning in the tree.
Nusnak k'iriga	He who comes back running.
Petraruhiga	Cranes rib.
Petrarwiga	Cranes woman.
Petriga	Fire person.
Xora cutrwigga	Red bald eagle.
Xora hunga	Bald eagle chief.
Xorap'aga	Bald eagle head.
Rar'at'w'wiga	Audible name.
Rak'uhuhiga	South wind.
Rutgenink'a	Little pigeon.
Sakowarutiga	He who eats raw flesh.
Sa'ljamaniga	Grizzled walking person.
Si-ok'urupiga	Leaves good footprints.
Sinawatiga	Tail.
Teatiga	Wind person.
Tevra'jiraka	He who is the first one named.
Te'phak'irutwigga	Lightning crossing itself.
Te'pikow'iga	Lightens again.
Dja'pawana'tra't'w'wiga	Lightning visible only once.
Dja'phak'iwawiga	Forked lightning.
Dja'phariga	He who is? lightning.
Dja'phanwigga	He who makes? or accompanies? lightning.
Dja'phik'igaga	He who makes? moving lightning.
Dja'pugiga	Lightning that returns.
Dja'pawwigga	Lightning that goes.
Dja'pajaga	Standing lightning.
Dja'pajikow'iga	Lightning that flashes suddenly.
Dja'pka'kranga	zigzag lightning or lightning circling and revolling.
Tra't'iminak'a	Sitting in sight.
Tra'cha'piga	Lightens the highland marsh.
Tra'cha'piga	He who lightens up the lodge.
Tra'waga	He who makes one abandon lodge and flee.
T'a'aminak'a	Kept flying?
T'a'gubwigga	He who returns flying.
Wahok'aga	The marksman.
Wak'andja'hadjap'iwiga	Thunderbird that likes to be seen.
Wak'andja'ciriga	Bad Thunderbird.
Wak'andja'yagdwiga	Thunder queen.
Wak'andjap'owiga	Young Thunderbird waiting.
Wak'andjaga	Thunderbird.
Wak'andja'glu'igaga	Thunderbird whirling.
Wak'andjagw'igaga	Thunderbird returning.
Wak'andjan'igga'lak'a	Very small Thunderbird.
Wak'andjap'igaga	Good Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaga	Yellowish Thunderbird.
Wak'andjagubiga	Thunderbird returning smoke.
Wak'andjaguniga	Thunderbird small.
Wak'andjagw'igaga	Black Thunderbird.
Wak'andjat'ow'igaga	First Thunderbird.
Wak'andja'waga	Green Thunderbird.
Wakte'oman'igaga	He who walks killing.
Wani-ak'axiga	Crow hankering for flesh.
Wan'ak'w'w'igaga	Changing bird.

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Wap'akomash'maniga		The great dreadful one that walks.
Warut'eziga		He who makes (the grass) rusty-yellow by eating.
Waschimanaiga	.....	Walking hall.
Watirukonaga	.....	Judge of the contest.
Wasika	.....	Pine.
Wagwutiga	.....	Man eater.
Wip'amaghere'iga	.....	Rainbow.
Wingogow'iga	.....	Roar woman.
W'ig'anaoga	.....	He who pens up ducks.
Woneg'irobaga	.....	Warrior chief.
Wodji'gubiga	.....	He who returns and strikes.
Wodi'w'iga	.....	She who strikes. ¹²
Koxmaniga	.....	Walking and making the sound of her'.
Ahu-awiga	.....	Raise her wing.
Abutro	.....	Blue wing.
Na'ogodjaviga	.....	Real tree woman.
Maxi'waga	.....	Black cloud.
Maxigaxzedeiga	.....	Big white cloud.
Ahu-ljiga	.....	Short winged.
K'ontrowaga	.....	Black sky (means properly the firmament).
Keredj'etaga	.....	Black hawk.
Maxixazuga	.....	He who makes the clouds have rays before them.
P'etcha-shiga	.....	Fire starter.
P'etcharaga	.....	Has fireplace.
Nok'awa	.....	Darkness.
N'otik'kumaniga	.....	Halls as he walked.
T'oraminag'ka	.....	Sits blue.
Huggit'aga	.....	Speaks as a chief.
Norwaga	.....	Scratches tree.
Na'awahigaga	.....	He who brings up a stick in his mouth.
Ma'odja'paga	.....	He who flashes on the earth.
Hana'djadjalewiga	.....	Seen by all.
Waggodjara	.....	Belongs to the upper regions.
Maxixaxzuga	.....	Looks at the clouds.
Ma'cuggiga	.....	Flapping and shaking his feathers.
Ahugi'inwiga	.....	Shining wings.
Heysiga	.....	Young swan.
Ma'k'uhodja'paga	.....	Flashes under the earth.
Warudjaga	.....	Comes making a noise.
Waggodjibaga	.....	He who comes from above.
Na't'ok'iga	.....	Lone tree.
Wagwaxotopaga	.....	Holy man.
Ximaga	.....	Walking in mist.
Xigaga	.....	Comes in mist.
Xaw'ana'agaga	.....	Bends the brush.
Tocwaga	.....	Oak tree.
Na'managa	.....	Bends the tree down.
Na'djidjaga	.....	Comes on the tree.
Ma'djidjaga	.....	Comes on the ground.
K'ouibaga	.....	He who thunders.
T'etw'djibwaga	.....	Makes noise in coming.
Wak'andjamaiga	.....	Thunder walker.
Ma'edja'maniga	.....	Mightily walking.

¹² This is the Dargy's list of Red cloud names. Those following were collected by the author.

NAME]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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Maggihoustra.....Shakes the earth.
Tonimansa.....Walks first.
Djapdjirahga.....Streak of lightning.
Maggiwimansa.....He who walks in the cloud.
Aho-houstra.....Long wings.

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THE BEAR CLAN

INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.¹⁴ The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

¹⁴ My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of this (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. (But until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account.)"

614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
 173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation
 certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer
 ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences
 may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts
 were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts,
 they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the
 shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
 614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some
 of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important
 [361] in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village,
 opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end,
 depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
 [721] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of
 office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really
 crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
 [513] that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
 345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners
 confined there or simply used it as a club house.

[533] The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used
 when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

614 Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
 778 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle
 called *hoke'reu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions
 the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in
 the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the
 following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
 625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago
 are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen
 lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the
 ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row
 pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe
 would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead
 of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling
 toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back
 and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear
 clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with
 all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be
 his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed
 the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused
 to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there
 calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such
 a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy.

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him.

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him.

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following:

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped.

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him.

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan.

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge.

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764 the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

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The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

[761]

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There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu'pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

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When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

RADIN]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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The following dog names were obtained:

A black dog with yellow eyebrows and breast is called *hseiga'ruyaga*, 614
 Opens-beehives; black female dog, *katekikiga*, 231
 dog with white around the neck, *kate hagananaga*, 552
Runs-for-acorns.
 The chief also had the privilege of calling a dog *noruzaga*, to show
 his superiority over the other members of the Bear clan. From
 another informant the following were obtained: *Teapiracatega*, Eat-
 everything-except-hide; *teahorawka*, Pull-out-deer-liver.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION ¹²

Informant, member of the clan: In the beginning a bear came 614
 walking on the ocean. When he got to the shore he flew off as a 539
 raven and alit on the shore. The first being he saw was a Dog clans- 776
 man. Then he entered the lodge and sat opposite him. That is



FIG. 35.—Diagram of Bear lodge.

why they call one another friends, or "he who sits opposite me." From the fact that he flew off as a raven we have a name (*kazijigaga*). The lodge had four doors, one on each end and one on each side (fig. 35). They landed at Green Bay, where a great gathering was held of all the clans. The other Bear clansmen claim that it was water foam that flew from the water, and it is from that fact that they obtained so much life. The fact that he (the bear) changed himself twice is the reason for his greatness among his fellow clansmen. Originally it was the fourth born who was sent from across the ocean.

SECOND VERSION

Informant, father of above: In the beginning 10 brothers started from across the ocean to the great clan meeting. When they got near, four waves came ashore and a raven flew from the waves, but when it alit (on land) it was a bear that walked. They were the greatest

¹² There are so many versions of the origin of the Bear clan that I think it best to give all I obtained. They are all discussed on p. 228.

614 in power, as they had changed themselves twice. There they crossed
539 the tracks of the Wolf clan, and they said, "Our friends have gone
776 by." Then they went and sat opposite the Wolf people. The Wolf
and Bear clans must bury one another.

The 10 men left their father and mother across the ocean.

The Bears should paint their faces with charcoal from burnt bass-wood and red paint. The face should be painted red and black alternately crosswise in stripes, or black on the upper half and red on the mouth and chin. Women are painted with red markings on each cheek and with charcoal markings in the center of the cheek.

THIRD VERSION

Informant, member of the Bear clan: It is supposed that Earth-maker ordered a meeting of all the animals to take place at Green Bay, and that the Soldiers (another name for the Bear clan) were also to attend.

In the beginning Earthmaker created all things in the form of animals, but at this gathering they (the originators of the various clans) were to become human. When all was in readiness to start, it was decided that the families of those animals who were to become the ancestors of the Winnebago clans were each to send one representative, and that the one who was thus chosen, accompanied by his wife, was to become transformed on that occasion. Of the soldiers (i. e., the bears) the youngest was sent. He had three brothers, of whom the eldest had black hair, the second dark red hair, and the third blue or green hair. They were the chiefs of the villages from which they had started.¹⁰ Only the youngest, however, was sent to the north of Green Bay he came from out the earth. When they emerged (the bear and his wife) it was a very fine day. As they were coming they heard voices in the distance saying, "The soldiers are coming." As they started to walk their footprints seemed imprinted with the blue of the sky - i. e., with daylight. A name has originated from this fact (*As-hamanina*, "He-who-walks-with-the-day"). As his wife was with him, he immediately started to hunt. (It seems that by this time the bear had some followers, for some would from time to time ask whether they were going to eat, and he would answer yes and tell them to hunt for food.)

When the youngest of the brothers started, the brothers who remained behind told him "to remember them" with regard to tobacco, red feathers, and food, and therefore after he had started he told some of his followers to go ahead and bring food of such and such a kind, so that when he arrived at certain camping places those sent

[10] ¹⁰ It must be remembered that all this is taking place in the heavens, in the spirit shade of the house. The color translations are only approximate also.

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ahead would be there before him ready with the food. After the first meal they started out again, and soon they came across the track of a member of some other clan, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." The latter clan had also said in coming, "Our friend must have come by." Then they came to the place where a large lodge had been constructed. When all were inside, the animal-beings wished to start a camp fire, and they called upon all those present to start it; but no one except the Thunderbirds could do it, so they made the Thunderbirds chiefs of the tribe. As, however, they were to have a number of chiefs, they called upon the Water-spirits to be chiefs of the lower division. Of the third division, the soldiers were to be the chiefs. The latter were to be in charge of discipline. That is the origin of the Bear or Soldier clan.

FOURTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan (so-called "true" version): Earthmaker made all things, and then he created man and woman, and he placed them in the south. He gave them charge of some of the day or life. All the creatures on the earth and all the birds of the air he was in charge of. He was going to start up from below and walk toward the north. All the creatures went with him. He walked forth with all the creatures. When he arrived on earth all the other clans had already gathered at one place. When he arrived they said, "Our soldiers have come. Make room for them." So it was said. And he said to them, "The things Earthmaker created me for, those I will do. Therefore, wherever you live or wherever you gather together I will look after your village; even to the edge of the clearing, that far I will make it sacred for you; and if you are ever overcome by sickness and you ask me to arise and help you, your sickness will leave you. And while he spoke of his power for four days the weather had been good, and no wind blew from any direction. The soldier was thus in charge of affairs. And as he spoke thus all birds with sharp claws flew above him in a circle.

On the fourth day all the clans left for their respective homes. Now even to this day he, the bear, is still in charge of the people.

FIFTH VERSION

Informant, same as of fourth version (so-called "minor" version): In the south, where he emerged and came upon our earth, there was a spring which gave forth white water. When he was about to come out, the hill in which he was confined shook and the spring shook also. He was not the first to come out, for his attendants preceded him. Then he came out. There were 11 men. The oldest one told him to go and look around at the fields. He sent out four to look at the fields (the raspberries and all other fruits). The

614 acorns and nuts they called beans. The four that emerged soon
539 came upon the footprints of human beings.

776 And then they returned from the fields where they had been searching for food. "Oh, my; oh, my," they said, "over there we came across the footprints of human beings." So they spoke. "Go again," he said, "go around a larger circle." So they went farther than before, and there they saw the people who had made the footprints. "Our friends are going about here," said the ones who had made the footprints and who were wolves. "Never shall we disobey one another's word, my friends," said the bear. And the wolf answered, "It shall be so."

[627] If one of the Bear clansmen had been killed and it was reported to the Wolf clan, the latter would revenge him. The Bear clan would act similarly. Then the bear said to the wolf, "My friend, whenever you die I shall put you away so that your soul may not be bothered by bad insects." And the wolf answered, "My friend, it shall be so, and when you die I will likewise put you away so that the bad spirits may not abuse your soul." Then they parted, after shaking each other's hands. The bears returned to their home in the south. The next time they came, it was to stay. They scattered themselves all over the earth, seeking newly ripened fruit of all kinds. In this manner they are still living on earth.

SIXTH VERSION

Informant, member of the clan: Earthmaker made us and as he created us thus the story has come down. The story of our creation is told as follows:

"Get ready. We will converse together over this affair." So spoke the one in the south. He was but one of those whom Earthmaker had created. There were four brothers. The name of the oldest one was Black Person, that of the second Red Person. (Indeed he was very red.) The third one was called Blue Person, and the fourth one White Person.

"Younger brother, how is it going to be? I (the oldest), who am speaking, not fitted do I feel myself for the task. My temperament is indeed not fitted for the task. Perhaps you might have something to tell them. Try, therefore, to say something to them. They are about to have a gathering and it is time to start. Try to say something to them." "Older brother, the truth do you speak. I also feel even as you have said; I am not fitted for it. I really don't consider myself equal to the task. My younger brother only is the one fitted for it. He is clever. Our younger brother, he only must be the one." "The truth you have spoken, my brother. Our youngest brother only is fitted for the task. The announcement of the gathering has already been made, so let us council over it imme-

* Told as the origin myth of the Bear clan.

diately. Let us get ready. Our younger brother, he is patient and strong-minded. On the earth he must go and we will remain here. To take care of the home we will remain here. Whatever he says it shall be so. In that wise will we think. Earthmaker has ordained that the gathering shall take place and that we are to live our lives there (on earth). Our younger brother he will go and live on the earth. As he is about to go to the earth, we will ask him to remember us.

"Younger brother, when you arrive on earth, whatever offerings you obtain, send them back to us as you walk along. When you start out you will appear with life. This you will take with you. This will be your task. Be careful that you perform everything correctly. When you arrive there, it will be necessary to give names to the human beings and to their dogs.

"Younger brother, when you start out toward the earth you will be holy. And when you are on earth and your first boy is born, call him He-who-is-very-black, and call the second one (wajiga) Brown-bear, the third one Blue-bear, and the fourth one White-bear. And if girls are born to you, call the first one Night-walking-woman, the second one Daylight-as-she-walks, the third one She-who-thrusts-herself-within-a-lodge, and the fourth one Visible-footprint-woman. And if your daughters have dogs which they wish to keep let them give them the following names (wadogega, untranslatable): Dog-pair, Third-born-girl, and Red-female-dog. Thus let it be."

When they (the bears) started, those at the gathering place listened: "Our soldiers have started; their whoops are audible." When the bear came on earth, he came across some tracks. "Our friends have gone by," he said. Finally the bears (man and woman) arrived at the gathering place; there they found all the clans assembled. The Water-spirit was the first one to come; then came the birds and then the bears. When all were assembled, they began to construct a large lodge. When it was finished, the one who had arrived first, the Water-spirit, was addressed by some of the other people. "Our chief, how are we going to make fire! Had you not better start!" "True you speak, but I do not know how. I am unable. Let some one else try it." But they all regretted and declined, saying they did not know how. So it was decided that he who made a fire would be chief. All thereupon tried, but only the Thunderbird succeeded. So he became the chief and the others all thanked him. Then the fire was distributed and all the clan fireplaces were made. Thus it was at the creation council. Now all things were finished and arranged. The Thunderbirds were the rulers of the village. The other people measured their acts by him. When the chief said do so and so, they would obey. Then the chief went out to look for food for himself and for his people, and they began to bring back

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food in the form of their relatives—i. e., in the form of the animals after whom they were named. Then the Bear people made a rule that they were to have a feast at which offerings would be made to their clan animal. And it was for him that they placed a shallow kettle at the feast. This is all.

SEVENTH VERSION

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

At a large spring sat a male bear. He looked upon his body and it was very blue. It was even bluer than the blue of the sky. As the blue from the sky illuminated, so he was. He sat as though he was part of the day. He was a chief and his name was Blue-chief. Toward one side he looked and there stood twelve men. Then the earth began to quake and something came out from the spring. Because something had come out from under the earth that is why the earth quaked. Blue-bear named him Earth-shaker. Then the earth began to quake again and now it was worse than before and Blue-chief named the one who emerged Earth-quaker. And then for the third time the earth began to tremble, even much more than before. So much did it tremble that the day itself trembled; and those that were not solidly attached to the earth came to the top and all manner of fruit was scattered over the earth. When he came out Blue-chief named him Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks. And again for the fourth time the earth began to roar and tremble and even the day trembled. Then one came out. So he was named, Makes-the-day-tremble. Thus they were all named as they came out. Then Blue-bear was told by Earthmaker, "This is all that remains to be done; your friends are waiting for you." There Blue-bear talked with Earthmaker, the latter telling him what he was to do. Then they started to the place where all the other clans were gathering, at Red Banks. As they came, all the leaves that had rough edges became human and all the trees that had prickles became human, and all the birds that had sharp claws and were able to claw anything, they all became human, and the snakes that had sharp fangs became human. Thus they went. Those of the air went in the air and those of the earth went on the earth, and nothing could cross their path. Even the earth trembled as they walked.

When they got to the gathering place they were told that seats were reserved for their friends (meaning them). But, said Blue-bear, "We did not come for that purpose, so we will not sit down. We were intended for something else by Earthmaker. As long as this world exists we will take care of you within the confines of your villages. We will not permit any evil spirits to enter these confines. The seats you offered us will remain as they are, so that if at any time the clans are gathered again our place will be reserved. Then the

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan.

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickles are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature.

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

Song 2

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

Song 3

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

Song 4

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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CLAN NAMES

WUNWU NIK'IN'ARAWERA (DEAR CLAN)¹⁰

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Hagelja minagk'a	Sitting opposite.
Awawaga	He who is shot in.
Oagp'ahiga	The one with black claws.
Ch'mah'a	Coarse-grained fat.
Ragu'waga	He who is coveted.
Hah'etiwaga	Dwelling on a hillside.
Hak'iridjwaga	Come back.
Hak'irutwaga	Crowns each other.
Hahontwaga	Hunts for berries.
Ha'hoontwaga	Travels by night.
Ha'hwaga	Night.
Ha'hwagk'a	Small day.
Ha'pmaniga	He who walks by day.
Himanawariga	He who eats as he walks.
Halgahaga	His little one who is returning.
Hinagk'hadjaga	He who saw a woman.
Hinagk' Inek' Inimigk'a	Woman sitting alone.
Hinagk' djaga	Four women.
Hodihaga	He who comes climbing a tree.
Hundjwaga	Black bear who is coming.
Hundjaga	The bear.
Hundjodaga	The big bear.
Hundjauwaga	Small bear.
Hungatik'iriga	He who has come back to see the children.
Hungit'iga	Prophet.
Hugk'orahiga	He who is the chief's flesh.
Hugk'uniga	He who is made chief.
Inek' Ina'jaga	He who stands alone.
Inek' Inimigk'a	He who sits alone.
Glawomigk'a	He who sits quiet.
Magk'aga	Dirt.
Maniwariga	He who eats as he walks.
Ma'ek'ipiwaga	She for whom the land is large enough.
Ma'atiga	Iron lodge.
Ma'auw'piga	Iron necklace.
Ma'auw'waga	Whitish metal.
Ma'awwaga	Metal woman.
Ma'ayodaga	Three notches.
Ma'au'au'pawaga	She who throws out the dirt with her paws.
Ma'awaga	Soldier.
Ma'p'auw'iga	Earth thrown up yellow.
Ma'wica'waga	Straight earth woman.
Ma'wawaga	Land cut in strips.
Ma'wica' Ina'jaga	Grizzly bear with striped eyes.
Ma'taga	Grizzly bear.
Ma'wakawaga	Shakes the ground by his weight.
Ma'wawaga	She who dwells in the ground.
Ma'wajawaga	She who plays on a tree.
Ma'waw'wawaga	Black root.

¹⁰ The following names are from the Dureau manuscript.

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Na'munk'wings	Bends a tree by pulling.
Na'm'whigs	He who makes a tree whitish by scratching off the bark.
Na'twings	Good heart.
Na'twixwings	She whose heart is difficult.
Na'twixwings	Yellowish red hair.
Na'twixwings	Breaks up a tree into small pieces.
Norutwings	Scrapes a tree.
Hok'awaminiwings	Who walks in darkness.
Hok'awaminiwings	He who sits in darkness.
Roriwak'antawh's	Holy tongue.
Rohu'minawh's	Many sitting.
Si-awh's	Foot good to the taste.
Tciwajug's	Pile the logs.
Tciwajug's	Ladle.
Tciwajug's	Spoon.
Wajug's	Yellowish-red bear.
Wak'wanaw'wings	He who has a white spot under his throat.
Wamawh's	Walks on the snow.
Wamawh's	He who steals habitually.
Wamawh's	With a white breast.
Wam'himawh's	He who walks on melting snow.
Waw'mawh's	Vermilion.
Waw'wawh's	Poss up a male.
Waw'wawh's	Half a man.
Waw'wawh's	Laughing at his antics.
Waw'wawh's	He at whom they laugh.*
Mai'nukonwings	In charge of land.
Tromawh's	First chief.
Septwings	Real black.
Na'twixwings	Red hair.
Manaw'wawh's	Soldier chief.
Hok'wawh's	She who retraces her steps.
Morawh's	Earth wanderer.
Ma'mawh's	Sits on the earth alone.
Momings	Hunts about the earth.
Aw'wawh's	Big armful.
Waw'wawh's	Goes ahead of them (common to all clans).
Ma'mawh's	Walks on the earth.
Mawwings	Earth coming woman.
Hocwawh's	Speaks Winnebago.
Har'wawh's	Walks with the strength of day.
Ha'mawh's	Sits in the day.
Tromawh's	Sits blue.
Hundawh's	Small bear.
Ha'twawh's	In charge of day.
Morawh's	Goes around the earth.
Mawwings	Lives in the earth.
Tciwawh's	Lives in the earth permanently.
Ni-aw'wawh's	Stands on the water.

* The following names were obtained by the author.

THE WOLF CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The
173 second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.

[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the

[262] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252 allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water - i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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their clan names is Ware. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of them 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the foot-print of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

(WIS. 428, 27)

614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
534 Finally children were born in both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them Wave on account of the wave
[55] coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore
they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black
Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children
these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they
have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon
some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water
[823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear
clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean.
When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore
singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears
who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by."
That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going
to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together
all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done."
When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They
said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So
some one went after him . . .

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CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
In the water am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

oqewdye' hie'it'aradema (Wolf Clan)²

614 Oqewdye' Hunting dog.
531 Oqewdye' Wolf.
531 Oqewdye' Wolf (archaic name).

²The following names are from the Dutton Box.

names

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Hi-d-jagun	White-faced.
Hi-d-jagun	Pink-eyed.
Hi-j-jagun	Black-haired.
Hi-j-jagun	Blue-furred.
Hominak's	Man who sits howling.
Hominak's	Four walking.
Hominak's	Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma'ch'ant-minak's	He who sits on the tree banks.
Ni-d-jagun	Coming from the water.
Ni-d-jagun's	He who brings them back from the water.
P-ogun	Green forehead.
P-ogun	He who has a white forehead.
P-ogun	Big and person.
Xo-er-minak's	He who sits on a bare hill.
Xo-er-minak's	He who dwells in a hill.
Xo-er-minak's	He who travels to the hill.
Stagun	Dusky tail.
Tragun	He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tragun	He who carries deer-meat in his mouth.
Tragun's	Chief wolf.
Tragun's	First wolf.
Tragun's	Sits as a leader.
Wagun	He from whom nothing is hidden.
Wagun	He who carries something in his mouth.
Wagun	Come back with some thing in his mouth.
Wagun	Who who chases.
Wagun	He who lies in wait for them.

THE WATER-SPIRIT CLAN

614

INTRODUCTION

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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[764]

[823]

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Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.

One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302]

A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

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In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counceled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WANTCHEE NEE'N'ABANERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

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Ne-ada-jak's.....Shining horns.
Hoo-yen.....Two horns.
Hoy'-wings.....Horned horns.
Hoo-trak's.....Five-horned.
Hoo-yen.....Four-horned.
Mak's'-wings.....He who plants medicines.
Mak's'-hoo-yen.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma'-wainp'-wings.....Good cold spring.

NAME:

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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Ma'jwings	Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma'napp'wings	Second earth person.
Ni-argajwings	Who who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwings	Who who walks on the water.
Ni-a'p'wings	Who who makes water good.
Ni-a'dagwings	Still water.
Ni'wings	Stream person.
Nihwings	He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a'wings	Who who jumps into the water.
Nidjwings	Four streams.
Niwak'iwings	Rebores (?) water.
Wakj'alcik'a	Bad Water-spirit.
Wakj'ajhwings	Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakj'ajmanwings	Walking Water-spirit.
Wakj'ajp'wings	Good Water-spirit.
Wakj'ajm'wings	White Water-spirit.
Rep'wings	Good horn.
Wad'xodwings	Big boat.
Hip'ahwings	Sharp tooth.
Rabwings	Beaver-skin woman.
Rabwings	Beaver.
Rep'wings	Short horn.

THE BUFFALO CLAN

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cikik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

ORIGIN MYTH

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

614 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is.
 173 Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would
 539 never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they
 [431] had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were
 accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell
 it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the
 least thing about the story of their origin merely because they
 loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some
 one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted
 and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing
 gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However,
 he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old
 man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce
 subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of
 the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the
 same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this
 [867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would
 add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to
 try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father," this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving
 you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish
 to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you
 have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life
 therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but
 later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may
 tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you
 say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father,
 these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my
 son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not
 tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because
 [431] it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents.
 Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good
 life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There
 is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very
 well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you
 know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him
 this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I
 give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated
 from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I
 meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done
 well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if
 afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to
 tell it well."

* He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

RADIN)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (dr 614
cicik)." From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. 539
The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The 776
buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then
began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the
knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So
they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to
the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements.

"Thus did we originate. And then they counceled with one
another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as
they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some
work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would
never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that
when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and
the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask
one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

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Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position 867
should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What
should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for,
and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be
taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food
(i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-
maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to
be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although [783]
Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own [276]
accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it.

* The name dr cik is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied
it to Devils Lake in South County, Wis. [103]

867

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Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

THE WIE'IE'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614	Monetoga.....	He who travels the land.
551	Teanimantwings.....	Who who walks ahead.
	Tewinikwige.....	Suckling buffalo calf.
	Trege.....	Buffalo.
	Trep'au'pau.....	Two buffalo heads.
	Tretw'wings.....	First buffalo.
	Tredonink's.....	Buffalo yearling.
	Tredonink's.....	Young buffalo bull.
	Tewinawdaga.....	Big female buffalo.
	Wirukawaga.....	He who is in control.
	Hohokmaniga?.....	Shaggy walker.
	Trehatwings.....	Buffalo hide blue.
	Mangikawaga.....	Shakes the earth by striking
	Trep'aga.....	Buffalo head.
	Mank'auhiga.....	Kicking up the earth.

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like
173 that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of
version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that
shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of
the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions,
although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chief-
tainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he
resembled a deer.

[322] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan.
(Pl. 46.)

[326] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song
761 very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their
limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being.
For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each
deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, there-
fore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping
over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some
human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were wankigahoniga and na'nateyiga.

RADIS]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION--SPECIFIC CLANS

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ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.⁶¹⁴ Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)⁵³⁹ recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started. 776

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."⁵⁵¹ And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names. 551

* The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

* There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk.

* Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started. 554 301

539 248

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

[1898, ANN. 37]

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[823]
[789]
[551]

The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red. Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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THUNDERBIRD CLAN



WARRIOR CLAN



EAGLE CLAN



BEAR CLAN



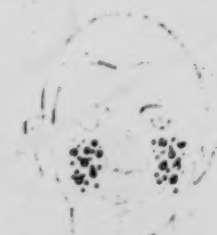
BEAR CLAN



WOLF CLAN



BUFFALO CLAN



ELK AND DEER CLANS



WATERSPIRIT CLAN

FACIAL BURIAL MARKS

[Facing P. 248 (A)]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

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SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

[55]

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

614
533

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIE'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Tesephnik'a. Black deer chief.
Wagizena'p'ig'a. Wears shells around neck.
Tcanuk'a'p'w'ing'a. Deer vagina.
Man' Appears in the middle of earth
Tetroniwaga. First deer woman.

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THE ELK CLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

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The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

[372]
[422]
[764]

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clan, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

[322]

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

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776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elk started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elk know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

CLAN NAMES

WU'WA' NIK'IN'ARADJERA (ELK CLAN)

614
551 Roba'maniwings.....Many walking.
Rok'uhumanwings.....She who walks with the wind.
Tatchiruxewings.....She who pursues the wind.

SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

CLAN NAMES

WAK'A' NIK'IN'ARADJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

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551 Hantcimig's.....Lying snake.
Hup'ahiga.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hirodiga.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'urudiwings.....She who crawls.
K'ixminag's.....Sits coiled up.
Olowek'inag's.....Sits quiet in her (home).
Hokiga.....High snake.

HO NIK'IN'ARADJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-spu'djewings.....Red fish scale woman.

CLAN AFFILIATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ha'bogwings.....East woman.
Hegkminag's.....Sitting chief.

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K'ik'arunistras	Licks himself.
Maq'k'uhoradjas	Roams under the earth.
Maq'k'owings	
Kalominas	Sits solidly attached.
Maq'k'uradjas	Her earth she spreads out.
Tripamajis	Walks as a white house.
Sinimimawings	Cold walking woman.
Pa'nagaga	Coming white.
Wan'k'ook'igs	Long man.
Warub'xonunigs	Small attendant.
Hominanpinkas	Sits good as she comes.
Na'mawahigas	He who brings something in his mouth.
K'ishiyungwings	Fighting prince.
Magbogominan'k'a	Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxurui-manewings	Moves along as she walks.
Wan'ktroga	Green man.
Hihina'pys	Comes out.
Pig'k'ik'unga	Fixes himself.

CLAN NAMES

FIRST FOUR GIVEN IN EACH CLAN

Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan:

First. Nanook's	Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nodja'pys	Lighting the tree.
Nai'mawagigiga	Broken tree top.
Han'temagigiga	All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hop'iga	Good one.
Second. Warujaxiriga	Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wik'andjamsiga	Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahungas	Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahungas	Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ma'djidjiga	He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hah'awawigiga	Darkness (female).
Second. Na'mawagigiga	Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

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Informant, member of Elk clan:

First. Wah'andja eggs.....	Black thunderbird.
Second. Wah'andja eggs.....	Green thunderbird.
Third. Wah'andja eggs.....	White thunderbird.
Fourth. Wah'andja eggs.....	Red thunderbird.

Names of Warrior clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Wompiro wankhik's	Warrior men (male)
or Naganadage	Big tree (male).
Second. Na'puk'ka	Same tree (male).
Third. Ma'edje'wamaga	Walks mightily (male).
Fourth. Womayvina	War (male).
Fifth. P'otche-shige	Fire-starter (male).
Sixth. Hingamaga	Chief walker (male).
First. Ahup'irivaga	Shining wings (female).
Second. Ahutuvaga	Blue wing (female).
Third. K'imbiyuvaga	Fighting prince (female).
Fourth. Ahup'irivaga	Good wing (female).
Fifth. Nijamandvina	Rain walker (female).

First four names of Eagle clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hagk'bridjag.	Returns to the tree.
Second. Ahmuk's.	Strikes his wings.
Third. Teaxophuk's.	Eagle chief.
Fourth. Teaxep'muk's.	Small eagle.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First, <i>Tromashekuk's</i>	Bear chief (male).
Second, <i>?</i>	? (male).
Third, <i>Waklany's</i>	He who has white spot under his throat (male).
Fourth, <i>Wundjadya</i>	Big bear (male).
Fifth, <i>Hilaciga</i>	(Male).
Sixth, <i>Nomanga</i>	Acroper a tree (male).
First, <i>Hak'waka's</i>	Retraces her footsteps (female).
Second, <i>Tromashekuk's</i>	Hiss bear (female).
Third, <i>Wacpadijawa</i>	Plays on wood (female).
Fourth, <i>Agawawa's</i>	Indigenous bear (female).
Fifth, <i>Hundjibauk's</i>	Female bear (female).
Sixth, <i>Wacpadijawa</i>	Visible footprints (female).

Bear clan; informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:

Makaya-higa.....	Shakes the earth.
Wahay-hayaga.....	Makes (it) quake.
Hadiwewamaga.....	Gives forth fruit as he wath.
Hahiga-higa.....	Makes the day tremble.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Mañi-bukhmanig's.....	He who sits in the middle of the earth
Second. Huker's-minimang.....	He who carries the design
Third. Hahid-jed-jahig.....	Makes the day tremble?
Fourth. Nuh-wah-hig.....	Breaks the tree tops.

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Wolf clan; informant, member of Bear clan:

First, Hi'teaga.....Blue hair.
Second, Kewiteaga.....Blue sky.
Third, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Gray wolf.
Fourth, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....White wolf.

Wolf clan; informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Gray wolf.
Second, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Black wolf.
Third, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....White wolf.
Fourth, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Red wolf(?)

Wolf clan; informant, member of the clan:

First, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....White wolf.
Second, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Gray wolf.
Third, Hi'teaga.....Green hair.
Fourth, Cukhtekuk' aotega.....Black wolf.

Water-spirit clan; informant, member of Eagle clan:

First, Wajdjeni aotega.....White water-spirit.
Second, Wajdjeni aotega.....Good water-spirit.
Third, Wajdjeni aotega.....Green water-spirit.
Fourth, Wajdjeni aotega.....Black water-spirit.

Elk clan; informant, member of the clan:

First, Hi'waga.....The elk.
Second, Hi'waga.....Prong-horned.
Third, Hi'waga.....Black elk.
Fourth, Hi'waga.....White hair.

Deer clan; informant, member of Elk clan.

First, Teaga.....The deer.
Second, Te'waga.....Lone deer.
Third, Teaga.....White deer.
Fourth, Teaga.....Black deer.

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726
787

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771
[614] 787

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this 776
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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

[614] The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

[778] In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theriomorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

[825] In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djept'á'gi*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

THE POWER AND LOCALIZATION OF THE SPIRITS

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

naam]

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

HOW Y. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE ¹⁷

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. K'rex u'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son. When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

¹⁷ This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

¹⁸ Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

PART III
CHAPTER XII

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796 in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *kak'is're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake clan on page 328.

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears. 575 796 [776]

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

575 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by
796 the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo head-dresses;
the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail, and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 Of the semipermanent societies, the *lak'iss're* dance is given after
727 every successful war party by those four individuals who have
counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be
an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its
main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the
skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular
warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure
and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected
278 with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black
Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was
obtained, owing to lack of time.

CEREMONIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CLANS

THE CLAN FEASTS

THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

796 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be
614 called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year,
sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions
for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members
of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation
"chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the
feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find
clan feasts of the other members of the *wagwepi* division, namely,
of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given
to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always
speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such
it is also regarded by the members of the *manegi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to specu-
late about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where
in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to
find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is
that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,¹
[114] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

¹ *The Ethnology and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance*, *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 22, No. 88, 1911.

² *American Ethnology*, 10th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

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unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Triwele branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796
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[114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: 796
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The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. [614]
[722]
These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given.

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

* Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As its type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with these feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

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[712]

● [614]
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of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.¹

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

¹ What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes⁶²² will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele-⁷⁹⁶brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief⁶²² fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her

young ones. The Thunderbird^[614] clan is in charge of the tribe, and when the chief feels the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (NEW VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan⁶¹⁴ feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for-⁷⁹⁶tunately both from a man and a⁷⁸²woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Hand/et'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our^[605] January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host proceeds the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at



FIG. 36. Place of Bear clan feast as given by John Radin. 1, Host; 2, Subhost of host; 3, Subhost of host; 4, Wolf clan; 5, Thunderbird clan; 6, Eagle clan; 7, Duck clan; 8, Bear clan; 9, Bear clan; 10, Bear clan; 11, Bear clan; 12, Bear clan.

the southwest end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco and this headress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for^[637]

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[REV. ANN. 37]

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776 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely
782 through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the
[537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told
without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an
individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented
here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created
796 in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four
soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon
as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before
[533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are
only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clans-
man.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any
clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not
eat at their own feast.

[564] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must
415 use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which
the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain
manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.
[305] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally
watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast
begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in
four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long.
These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally
says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn
thinks those who have participated and tells them that the feast
is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving
first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until
the end.

[778] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken
782 away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place
(under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any
person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your
796 moon is about to appear. "It is good. So come forth, for it is at
537 this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on
782 this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we
possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us
therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one
small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may
suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
 For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
 at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
 ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
 ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that pur-
 pose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of
 the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going
 to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he
 placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them
 started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this
 feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings--
 tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of
 life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you
 take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are,
 the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits
 promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own,
 but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said.
 These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very
 cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you
 must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise.
 This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready! Go and
 get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons
 with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put
 some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the
 host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your
 spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat.
 None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you.
 Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then
 sing the four clan songs.)

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 796
 began life."

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have
 acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at
 our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it.
 This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This
 council-feast they pleaded for. We should act very cautiously,
 they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten
 for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month
796 is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products
[805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The
[825] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The
favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they
can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product
of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and
have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month
they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and
others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have
[203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around
the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and
taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through
796 blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco.
537 My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who
is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we
could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we
have made an effort to heat water for him.* The first request we
make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our
grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit† and he told
him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked.
[782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles
full of food, and some tree sap.‡ So much will we send him, accom-
panied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will
begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has
finished the host speaks again.

[264] "Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you
filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use
your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they
obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the
people eat in the dark.

614 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year
796 it is given.

[847] The feast § was always given with some choice dried corn that had
been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the
feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

* Well soup and prepared in general.

† Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.

‡ Corvumorta means for maple sugar.

§ What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it.

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnabago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it.

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that

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you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. What-
 [752] ever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After
 [752] that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

"I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good! I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them."

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out."

NADW)

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you ⁷⁹⁶ (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are ⁶¹⁴ present I greet." ⁵³⁷

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, ^[757] feathers, and food. ^[712]

796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
 614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
 537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
 [782] made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see
 such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless
 us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted.
 I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will
 be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who
 are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the
 host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him
 and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them
 why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his
 predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the
 snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he
 himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently
 descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the
 feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes.
 He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted.
 Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again
 and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each
 person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything
 on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the
 chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire
 and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order
 to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet
 you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my
 request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the
 blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have
 assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You
 truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings,
 so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' bless-
 ings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained
 with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those
 of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my
 feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is
 (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel
 and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counseled with me and
 given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you
 have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

The people were of the

TB Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The
T16 fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

• [614] Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaped tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

THE SOLDIER'S DANCE

796 Informant, member of the Bear or Soldier clan: "The object of
614 performing the soldier dance (fig. 37) is to strengthen the members of

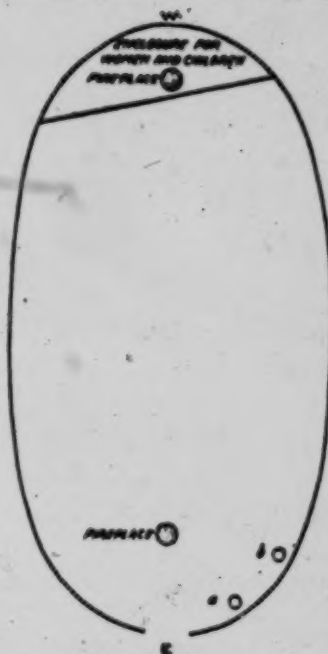


FIG. 37.—Plan of Soldier's dance. a, Leader.
b, Assistant.

the Bear clan. They dance with the emblem of the Bear clan, the whittled stick (*namagz'nizni*), in their hands. The dance is also given whenever a council in which tribal affairs are discussed is held. On such an occasion the men take their drums to the council lodge and dance there, followed by the women.

The principal leader—i. e., the chief of the Bear clan (*ma'nanz'e ka'ggera*)—appoints a person who is in charge of the ceremony (*ma'nanz'e ka'o'hiduk'ana'na*).

The ceremony begins with the chief of the clan marching around the village with some followers and stopping here and there to dance and give the soldier whoop. The members of the Bear clan are supposed to be strengthened by the blessings of all the animals who have claws. Should anyone be sick in the village, this strength of theirs would be sufficient to cure them. Then they return to their lodge and are put in control of the entire village.

As soon as the time for the dance is at hand the soldiers give their whoops and an old warrior is selected to tell of his war exploits. He always makes it a point to tell of some exploit that seemed at first foolhardy—how he tried to do something that generally meant death, but how he succeeded by reason of his fearlessness. It is with such a heart, he tells them, that they must dance the soldier's dance. Then they all dance and sing. When they are finished, they let the women dance.

* Throughout this work soldier is used to denote something quite different from the word warrior. The Soldier clan is the Bear clan, and the Warrior clan is the Hawk or the War-people clan.

RADIN

MINNEAPOLIS DANCERS

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I
Manap'va na'ji'winā.

Soldiers get up.

II
Wap'nija' tce'gi'ji na'ji'a'v'ji.

Nothing difficult get ready.

(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manap'va newin'na' hu'nagire'dra.

Soldiers I am he whom they speak of.

IV

Manap'va hi'ja' win'na'.

Soldier one I am.

(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANGERU'

(BRINGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL.

A grandfather of mine called Cokoboka feasted at Necedā, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. 782 778 527

KIRRE WACI AND TUBOKONA'K DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called kirre waci and a dance called tubokona'k (wearing buffalo headdress). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 777

Now
 154 I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
 755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
 794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
 276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
 [753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became
 attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accom-
 plished this.

O. L.'s DESCRIPTION OF THE PEYOTE CULT

(PL. 88, 2)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
 614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
 692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeti* (i. e., the ser-
 681 gents-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for
 punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
 794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated
 in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone
 excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was
 a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while
 there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried
 [17] to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
 relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any
 way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote,
 now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
 794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
 177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good
 things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for
 participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began
 to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years
 ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for
 many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult
 were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named
 Albert Hensley (pls. 8, d; 9, d). He, too, had been a bad person,
 although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a
 heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that
 now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make
 efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
 159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
 [782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of
 the Trinity."

CHAPTER XVII

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN¹

(FIRST VERSION)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Wagigo², Winter Feast, or War-bundle Feast, as it is generally called, is one of the principal ceremonies of the Winnebago. It is to a certain extent a clan ceremonial, for the clan is the basis of its organization, but apart from that fact, it has really nothing to do with the clan and must not be confused with the specific clan feasts held once a year. A perusal of the following sketch will show clearly that we are in reality dealing with a ceremony primarily connected with success in war and that its distinctive peculiarity among the Winnebago is that it has developed into a general ceremony of thanksgiving to the spirits and developed an organization based on the clan unit. As a result of the latter fact, we find 12 war rituals all essentially the same in content and differing only in details and in the fact that the host in each of the 12 performances belongs to a different clan. The specific differences in each performance are, first, the content of the war bundle; second, the origin myths of the feast and of the songs associated with each bundle; third, the songs

¹ FORTY-THREE TABLE.—All the comments have the same value as those in English with the following exceptions: 194

e is pronounced like a in English.
f has the sound of r in French.
g has the sound of r in French.
h has the sound of f in French.
i has the sound of e in German Dialect.
j is the sound of r.
k is a slightly trilled tongue-apical r.
l has the sound of g in French.
m always represents r preceded by a nasalized vowel.
n is a marked nasal.
o and p are intermediate stops, except in certain positions, where they become true plosives.
q is the glottal stop.
Consonants followed by ' represent aspirated stops.
The vowels have the following values:
a has the sound of a in English.
a is the short nasalized a.
a is long a.
a is short open as in put.

q is short and close but not as close as the French q in fort.
a is long close e.
a is broad (open), as in an unaccented pronunciation of e in right.
i is short and open as in the.
i is short and close.
i is long and close.
o is short and open.
o is short and close.
o is long and close.
o is long and open.
u is short and open.
u is short and close.
u is long and close.
u is close a.
u is close a.
u denotes nasalization.
u denotes primary stress accent.
u denotes secondary stress accent.

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[787]

[614]

[787]

[182
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[782]

the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers. The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as and this should never be forgotten the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hók'te're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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RADIN]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages. Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

* This statement is made provisionally.

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[554]

614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
778 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast
and second from its association therewith.

[554] That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from
the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as
there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different
clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan
unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of
the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the
clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are
made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaskrik, who seem to be of slight
importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists
[804] of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are
ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven exist-
ing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of
the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would
probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other
ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts repre-
sent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago
ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575] tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614 by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the
clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the
entire Winnebago pantheon.²

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE

FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle
feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker.
Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have
animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The
peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being
divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other
life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been
known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known
by some sign. There is generally a difference between the concep-
tion of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

²The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from ⁷⁷⁶ a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

The Water. Generally known as nipa, water, but ritualistically as hugo', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the famous "point" medicines (wase'). ^[789]

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

Eagle.—Always known as Teaxrep, eagle. A powerful war deity ^[614] and a clan animal.

Pigeon Hawk. Always known as K'trik'tr'agera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

Wónapi're Cawick.—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

North Wind.—Known as Wax'regi hól're, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

Black Hawk.—Known as k'eredjy sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

Day.—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits ^[782] and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hó'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number ⁷⁷⁸ of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them.^{539x} 716

Speech of fifth guest. "Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.⁵⁴⁰ That we are living⁵⁴¹ is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war-bundle owners know how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.⁵⁴² Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.⁵⁴³ And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They know that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djidmaginiwaga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits whom they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not fool him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them those things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the hunt, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (hunt), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

⁵³⁹ By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak and sing.

⁵⁴⁰ Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

⁵⁴¹ I. e., have been blessed with life.

⁵⁴² The reference to the fireplace is omitted here. First at least it is incumbent for the owner of the transformed clan bundle to take charge of the fireplace; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the traditional name for human beings.

⁵⁴³ To be taken figuratively as meaning "blowings," since in adding fuel they are causing the sacred fire.

THE WAR-HUNTER FRANT OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

X 716
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773
[776]

X 716
[604]

[574
281]

[586]

X 796
782
776

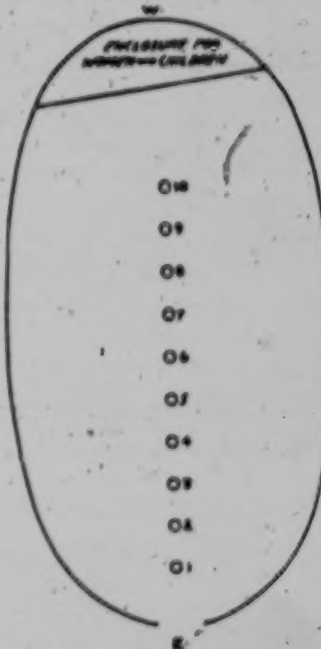


FIG. 10. - Plan of Thunderbird clan war lodge (east). 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for fire-giver. 3, Buckskin for Thunderbird. 4, Buckskin for night spirit. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for birds.

X 716
782
[572
776]

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have possessed their characteristic are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the Kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others

not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

* This is a generalized account.

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known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms *Ictacunda* and *Tciju* are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey¹ and Miss A. Fletcher and F. La Flesche² that these names as well as the name *Hanga* are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of facts speak strongly in favour of the reverse. In no case, for instance, can it be shown that the two divisions *per se* have any functions except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed by these divisions pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. We will treat of these points afterwards. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the *Degiha*, there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones, and we will have to look askance at such an attempt as that of Miss Fletcher and F. La Flesche to regard the names of the *Ictacunda* and *Hanga* divisions of the Omaha as indicating the historically fundamental religio-social concepts of that tribe. 174 616

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the *Tciwere* tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the *Dhegiha* tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not 174 614

¹ "A Study of Siouan Cults," B. A. E. Annual Reports, Vol. XI.

² "The Omaha Tribe," *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII.

174 found among them. The Tciwere and Winnebago have animal
 614 appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appella-
 tions, plus type of designation, descriptive of animal taboo.
 Which of the two types is older it is difficult to say. The fact
 might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a
 large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo-appel-
 lations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason
 for believing that these animal appellations have been re-inter-
 preted and in other cases replaced by non-animal designations;
 that the origin myths of these divisions *always* explain why a
 certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely
 the origin of the taboo name; and, lastly, that the larger percent-
 age of personal names is strictly comparable to the clan names of
 the Winnebago and the Tciwere. On the other hand, the de-
 scriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band
 appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha have
 come in intimate contact and by whom they have been influenced
 along definite lines of ceremonial and social development.
 For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal
 appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type
 became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe.
 Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means
 isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute
 names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal
 names—and this has gone so far that a large number of individ-
 uals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior
 clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa,
 and Kwapa we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine
 that for some reason or another the latter type of name became
 popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively
 short time.

Like the twofold division, the clan may connote a number
 of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha
 apparently use the term *tonwagdon*, which means literally
 "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *gōp* being the possessive-
 reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a
 geographical unit. The Kwapa use the term *enikaciga*, evidently
 meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wəyymjdg*, "those-who-

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WINNEBAGO INDIANS.

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pēda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjara*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hanyacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanya* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'yha'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwq'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hylexede gominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *honi* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjora*; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan; *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

174 types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan,² and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known as the *wageregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *mquegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned 614 in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals 616 after whom the clans are named, the term *wageregi* covering the 825 birds, the term *mquegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *wayger-egi* and *mqqegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
 614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
 616 with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
 825 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy
 of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal
 burial relationship of the *wangeregi* and *maqegi* divisions, we, of
 course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question
 have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize
 that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-
 mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of
 political functions of social units on the other. In some cases,
 such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable
 that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant.
 The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been
 due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might
 be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom
 a multitude of associations have already been established are
 subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From
 this point of view, the animal names of social organization are
 intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find
 historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place
 here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions
 was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the
 political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place.
 Although the religio-mythological influence must have been
 marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other
 functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the
 clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was
 the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *wangeregi* and *maqegi* divisions
 616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *wangeregi*
 [582] man had to marry a *maqegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
 [764] other function exercised by these divisions was, according to
 some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythologi-
 cal interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation
 for a *maqegi* man buried a *wangeregi* man because, as a "land

division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąqęgi* division, the *wągęregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *wągęregi* and *mąqęgi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *wągęregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąqęgi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąqęgi* buried the *wągęregi*.

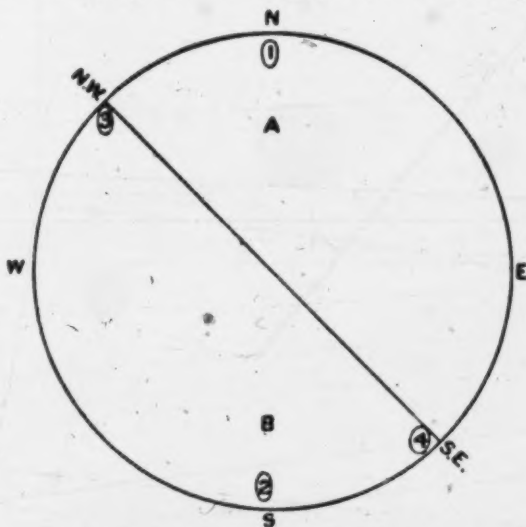


Figure 1. A, *Mąqęgi* side; B, *Wągęregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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621 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *waggeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *maggigi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

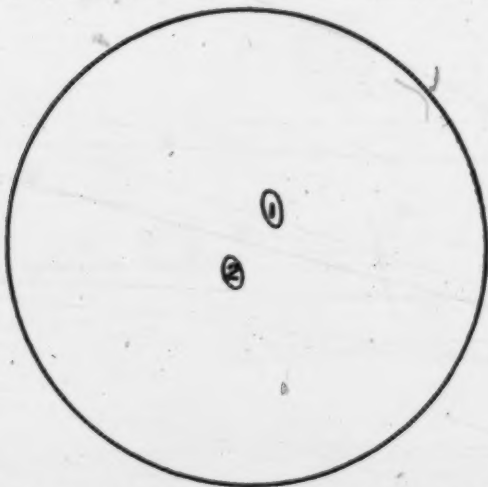


Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *maggigi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *wangeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *maqegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huyk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huyk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huyk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *wangeregi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *wangeregi* are always pitted against the *maqegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *wangeregi* and *maqegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *wangeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

The division of the

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tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

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Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wangeregi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanŋk' hokik'aradjara*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

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[616] There are twelve clans (*hokik'aradjara*) among the Winnebago: the Thunderbird (*wak'andja*), the Warrior (*wonayere wayk-cik'*), the Eagle (*icaxap'*), and Pigeon (*ru'ice*), now extinct, belonging to the *wangeregi* half; and the Bear (*huyk'*), Wolf (*cuyhtcuyk'*), Buffalo (*ice*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*ica'*), Elk (*huwq*), Snake (*wak'q*), and Fish (*ho'*), all belonging to the *mayegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huyk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcy*), to the Warrior; (*manyep*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowjga*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconayke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf. 614

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located—the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before. [621]

The meaning of *iconayke* is unknown to-day, but it may be of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconayke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *nayke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, blue-back would have to be *nayke ico*. [554]
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Legendary Grouping of Clans.

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants. 614
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J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

- Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
- Bad Thunders (Warrior)
- Eagle
- Pigeon
- Bear

Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. [174] These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others. 174 614 773

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *manegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness. 614 621 [616] [532] [171]

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and 174 614 621

174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite
621 clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally.
Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old
exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus
compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her
clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely
artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently.

[591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition
again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have
the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as depart-
ing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs,
cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must
have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all
this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small
village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect,
in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With
these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segre-
gation.

Individual Names.

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally
551 associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed,
182 a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals
are, however, frequently found when the social units have
names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation
exists between the manner and system of naming and the type
of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social
organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the
individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in
mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a
551 purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring
174 them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the
other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall
try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily
to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement. 614 551 174

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name *He-who-lights-on-a-tree* exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name *Wave*; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "*Soldier*" in the Bear clan, "*Chief*" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like *Retraces-her-footsteps*, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like *Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks*, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcon-ank*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *ironi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangira* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
 776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
 825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
 [421] symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate
 contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
 614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
 776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
 825 societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

Relationship to Clan Animals.

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
 614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
 825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation.

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared

174 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This con-
614 ception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded
773 as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact
825 with Europeans. The error that has always been committed
in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies
in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal"
as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination
between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied
to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into
intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from
the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the
origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is
entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension
of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social
organization. Instead of being merely descended from an
individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within
this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood
relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked
upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a
political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those
clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point
can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunder-
bird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift
from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The
Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the
clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the
thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits
in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war
bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous
stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with
a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian
spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle
against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village,
becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists
between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to
include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

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The Clan Tie.

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik'aradjara*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitak'oro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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582 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables,
 614 based on actual genealogies:
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(F) Thunderbird—
 (F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
 (F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
 (F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
 (M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
 —Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
 (M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
 (M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
 —Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

Clan Functions.

174 The association of political functions with definite social
 614 units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a
 182 tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
 614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
 625 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group
 unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause
 and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
 614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird
 is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the
 tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected
 with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating
 to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline,
 both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the
 Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between
 the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk
 clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions.
 Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor"
 soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage
 of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the
 fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for
 seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association
 of political functions with clans was a type that had found
 [174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
 [171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of
 ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found cor-
 responding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither
 type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan
 are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization
 and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure
 there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
 616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a
 special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation
 (*hitakare*). This always subsists between two, although it

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WINNEBAGO INDIANS.

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *waggeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ero*" or "friend-clan" is strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ero* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcyege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcyege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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614 individual and clan *hitcak'vro*, on the other. In the former there
 572 is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of
 [604] mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hitek'-hitcege*
 relation, the individual *hitcak'vro*, and the clan *hitcak'vro* may
 be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the
 same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between
 the different individual *hitcak'vro* and the clan *hitcak'vro* is not
 unheard of. For the *hitcak'vro* relation of individuals this is
 [597] always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'vro* is generally
 adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to
 [582] indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between
 them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

[174] What historical relation the clan *hitcak'vro* bears to the
 individual *hitcak'vro* relation of individuals, it is impossible
 to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and
 no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

614 The *hitcak'vro* relation is entirely one between equals,
 irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping,
 with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is,
 for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is
 entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship,"
 there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation.
 The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English
 word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service
 for another without that specific service being reciprocal.
 Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunder-
 bird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is
 not to be confused with the general subordination of all the
 other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise
 their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relation-
 [203] ship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically
 [174] expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the
 [621] chief every morning to receive certain directions from him,
 which he then announces to the whole village. But this relation-
 ship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

1 [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wageregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *muyegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *muyegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wageregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hucak'oro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hucak'oro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
 614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
 778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among
 the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to
 these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects pos-
 sessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
 778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the
 possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
 war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the
 [616] *wageregi*, the other among the *mqyegi* divisions. In connexion
 [796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as
 [171] clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
 The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the
 specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to
 their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as
 their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts
 from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
 [575] night-spirit (*hqhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
 as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the
 thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain
 family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-
 bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal
 possession of a family which has become associated with all the
 members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded
 as a clan possession.

[726] In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
 an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
 nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the
 extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance.
 When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.

Although there are no specific material possessions, each
 clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial"
 possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacred-
 ness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*namqatex*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namqxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namqxinixini* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.¹

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

¹ For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archaeology*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 317-338.

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[627] let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

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614 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

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[171] Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manyé waci*).

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796 "When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture--there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex.

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

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174 and in content. The difference between it and a society
 575 like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the
 614 five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles).
 796 they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what
 extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from
 some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
 of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo
 feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo
 clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person
 who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate,
 although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan.
 This example may be taken as an indication of the historical
 origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious
 societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the
 number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy
 the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence
 of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with
 the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

PHONETIC KEY.

- 104
- o, as in German *Mann*.
 - ø, as in French *Hé*.
 - ɛ, as in English *men*.
 - i, as in English *pique*.
 - ɪ, as in English *pin*.
 - ə, as in English *note*.
 - ɔ, as in German *voll*.
 - u, as in English *food*.
 - ʊ, as in English *put*.
 - ɐ, obscure vowel like *e* of English *idea*.
 - ː denotes nasalization of vowel.
 - ŋ, as of English *sing*.
 - ʃ, pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
 - ɣ, voiced guttural spirant, *g* of North German *sagen*.
 - ʰ denotes aspiration.
 - ˑ denotes that preceding vowel is long.
 - ˑ denotes main stress.

SOME NOTES ON WINNEBAGO SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION¹

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

114 THE easily accessible accounts of Winnebago social organization are Morgan's *Ancient Society*,² J. O. Dorsey's *Siouan Sociology*,³ the article *Winnebago* in the *Handbook of American Indians*, initialed by James Owen Dorsey and Paul Radin,⁴ and Paul Radin's *The Clan Organization of the Winnebago*,⁵ his *Winnebago Tribe*,⁶ and lastly his *The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, An Interpretation*.⁷

None of these authors apparently were aware that a number of important statements on this and kindred topics are to be found in Caleb Atwater's *Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien; thence to Washington City, in 1829*.⁸ I quote from this as follows:

614 Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large Tortoise, fully
[532] extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snakeskin marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems (p. 87).

622 Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe. These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of which, there are two Civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance Du Corri and Winneshiek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each one of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

[623] ¹ Printed by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

² Page 157.

³ Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 240-41.

⁴ Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, pp. 958-61.

⁵ American Anthropologist, Vol. 12, 1910, pp. 209-19.

⁶ Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 181 et seq.

⁷ Museum Bulletin, Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, No. 10 (Anthropological Series, No. 5).

⁸ Published by Isaac N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio, 1831. I have not seen the edition (of the same date) published by Jenkins and Glover, Atwater's *The Indians of the Northwest*, etc., Columbus, 1850, apparently has the same contents and pagination as his *Remarks* which I have seen. So we may presume that the 1831 edition (which I have not seen) of his *The Indians of the Northwest* is the same also. "The Writings of Caleb Atwater" (Columbus, 1833) has apparently disappeared from the Library of Congress. The proofsheets have been verified by consulting the 1850 edition, differences in capitalization being ignored.

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582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

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624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100-101).

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614 ... "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

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[551] A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.¹⁰ Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,¹¹ and elsewhere. [551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"¹² signed more

¹⁰ See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327-28; cf. also Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

¹¹ Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

¹² The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his *The Winnebago Tribe* and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in *Handbook of Ameri-*

than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.¹⁷ If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives *kec'ó'ngéā* as a personal name, "the tortoise," and *ke'c'ó'ngéā* as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that *ke'c'ó'ngé* or *ke'c'ó'ngé* is a large species of turtles, and that *ké* also means "turtle." La Flesche gives *ke* (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives *k'e* (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but *ke* (in my transcription) for Omaha; *k'eya*, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether *ra* is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether *kera* may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota *k'eya* with the recognized shift of *y* to *r*.

¹⁷ They are in his Fox list.

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
 796 It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Tous-
 [795] tea-he-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
 [778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
 ● 614 Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

[574] We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
 [776] and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
 [614] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly constructed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

[252] The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

Fasting

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older brother and I would play around with them a great deal. We did this even although we were fasting at the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. Whenever our parents found out we got a scolding and so did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away from menstruating women, but we ourselves always sought them. 159* 785 [861] [841]

After a while some of the people living in the lodges moved away and we were left alone. They moved far ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law went out hunting and killed seventy deer between them, so that we had plenty of meat. 159* [224]

When the girls with whom I used to play moved away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back. We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge and our war-bundle¹⁰ was placed in it. There my elder [787]

¹⁰ The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winnebago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was supposed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk. Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some 778 [825] [614]

Crashing Thunder

There my elder

* 159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four
nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power
to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

[776] We were told the following would happen to us. On
the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded
by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of
the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told
that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
still remained there, I would be molested by large mon-
sters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man
might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage
to get through that night I would then on the following
[775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speak-
ing outside. These ghosts would say things that might
well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was
told these ghosts would even take my blanket away
from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me
out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be ad-
dressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and
say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn
you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is
why these approached you first, but you overcame
them and now they will not be able to take you away.
Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[774] Individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[774] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[774] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
[774] the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and
women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

Crashing Thunder

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[787] After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.¹¹ Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

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[614] ¹¹ That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

§5. Names

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

The Story of the Origin of Our Clan

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

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he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

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made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Ilenuga*, *Ilagaga* and *Nan-giga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire. 539
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Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called [182]
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Within-lake at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay (Wisconsin). On an oak tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch on which they alighted was bent down by their weight. Then spoke the third brother, "Brother, the first daughter born to me I shall call *She-who-weighs-the-tree-down*." Then they alighted on the earth. Then said the fourth brother, "Brother, the first son born to me I shall call *He-who-alights-on-the-earth*." Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunder-birds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

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Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, "What are we going to eat?" Thereupon the youngest two took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

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Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, "What is that?" Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, "It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*." "Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it," *Kunuga* continued.

Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, "Each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some." Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done.

In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and

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539 thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunder-
614 bird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the
776 least in importance.

One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight. They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called. Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, "Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again. Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things. Tell us what has happened to our brother?" Then he answered, "My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this. Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight*. Perhaps he can tell you."

So weeping they started for the next one. When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west. Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights*, the one in the south. There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, "Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has

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willed it. Your brother will never rise again. He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists. Whenever a person reaches the age of death, he will die. Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions. Thus only will they succeed in living long. Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will at sometime come to an end. Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge. When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly.” Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge.

When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face. Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go. They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west. At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land. He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life. He must take his pipe and his food along with him. Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives. The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to

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give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

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Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

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Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above*; and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man*. When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist*, *Comes-in-mist*, *Drizzling-rain*. It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub*; and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree*. Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders*. Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread*, *Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force*, *Comes-with-wind-and-hail*, *Flashes-in-every-direction*, *Only-a-flash-of-lightning*, *Streak-of-lightning*, *Walks-in-the-clouds*, *He-who-has-long-wings*, *Strikes-the-tree*.

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thunder-crashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thunder-crashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder*.

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*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.

577 For the good you do people will love you.

867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with
luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have
plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a
happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago
preach to a child we love so that it should never become
acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do
anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any-
thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the
consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
562 time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
593 They always preached against those men who hearken too
strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of
women. Now it may happen that a man has received many
warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays
no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is
asked to attend a war-bundle feast²⁰ he will refuse to go;
it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

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²⁰ The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in
honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

The Teachings of My Father

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

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adopted the specific shooting ritual today practiced in the Medicine Rite. 105

It is just this contrast between the manner in which the basic older structure remained intact and yet new elements were freely adopted that is so characteristic of the Winnebago civilization. The explanation for their ability to do both these things lies in the fact that, like the Iroquois and Navajo, they have always quickly transformed and reinterpreted the influences which they absorbed from the outside. We shall shortly see how the history and analysis of the Medicine Rite illustrates all these three tendencies, the marked conservatism of old patterns, the receptivity to new ideas and the capacity for making new integrations. Before turning to this history, it will be best, first, to give a brief sketch of the Winnebago civilization as a whole, particularly those phases of the social organization, religion, ritualism and mythology, which can throw light on the Medicine Rite.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns characteristic of many North American Indian tribes, first, the division of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people and those-from-the-earth or lower people. 105
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The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more fundamental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the 105
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105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the
needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law
and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages
to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be
spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male
members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of
the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek pres-
tigue through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people
who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not
constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to vio-
lence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal
chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe
when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is
in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before
being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles
are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and
the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed
to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast be-
tween the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in
their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded
off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not